

**Tibet Information Network**  
**TIN News Compilation, October 1993**

**Reports from Tibet October 1992 to October 1993**

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**TIN Background Briefing Paper:**

**Tibetan Views of Immigration into Tibet, 1992-3**

# Tibet Information Network TIN News Compilation, October 1993

## Reports from Tibet 1992-3

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+ this article has not been received by TIN priority users.

#### Labrang Protest over Chinese "Insult" TIN Report / 24 October, 1992

About 800 Tibetans took part in a demonstration on 10th October in Labrang, a largely Tibetan town in China's Gansu Province, formerly part of Eastern Tibet.

The protesters, who included monks and local school-children as well as lay-people, were peaceful and no arrests were made, according to witnesses, who said that some police actually appeared to support the demonstrators. The demonstrators, who shouted out slogans through loud-speakers, appear to have had official permission to stage the protest, and had earlier put up posters in the town announcing the march.

During the incident, which took place on 10th October, the demonstrators marched once up and once down the main street of the town, which is about 1 kilometre long.

The Tibetans were reported to have been protesting against remarks by a "leading Chinese historian" which they said had insulted the Buddhist religion. The historian had suggested a derogatory interpretation of the famous syllable *mantra*, *Om mani padme hum*, which forms the basic prayer for most Tibetans; extracts from the article by the historian, Zhao Lu, are printed below.

The town of Labrang, known in Chinese as Xiahe, situated in China's Gansu Province, is built round the monastery of Tashikyil, one of Tibet's most important monasteries although it is situated 1,300 km north east of Lhasa, the traditional Tibetan capital.

The Chinese Government has tolerated and even encouraged several previous protests by members of the "minority

nationalities" in defence of their religious or social customs, as long as they do not contain any suggestion of secessionist aims.

200 Tibetan students from the National Minorities Institute in Beijing boycotted their classes for two weeks in January 1992 after an official described Tibetan traditions as "useless nonsense", according to the German magazine *Der Spiegel*.

#### A Chinese View of The Sacred Mani Mantra

The article which led to the 10th October demonstration in Labrang was entitled, "A Survey and Explanation of the 'Six Word' Tibetan Buddhist Mantra". Written by Zhao Lu, it was published in Chinese in a scholarly magazine called *Tibetan Studies* (Vol. 3, No.8, 1992, pp 89-91), printed in China in Autumn 1992. Sections of it are translated here (TIN ref: Doc 22(YC)). The author states that the six syllable *mantra* is a description of sexual copulation. Zhao Lu works at the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences.

#### A Survey and Explanation of the "Six Word" Tibetan Buddhist Mantra [extracts]

Zhao Lu

[...] The "six word" mantra from India is translated from Sanskrit to Tibetan phonetically, as it cannot be translated through script. In English it translates into four words: "Om Mani Padme Hum". The first and last words ["Om" and "Hum"] are merely exclamations like "Oh!" indicating happiness rather than surprise. In Indian culture the word "Om" translates as "sacred" and "Hum" translates as "lucky" or "auspicious". "Mani" as "precious jewel" and "Padme" as "Red Lotus". Taken together [the words mean]: "sacred, precious jewel on auspicious red lotus".



*It is possible to see in some Tibetan monasteries (including Labrang) thangka paintings depicting the "Six Words". Many people believe that the mantra is very difficult to explain and so it has become somewhat of a mystery.*

*If we were to go back in history we would find it easier to understand "Om Mani Padme Hum". [...] The Indians understand the six word mantra to be a prayer. In India's cultural past it was the custom that male and female genitals were highly respected. For example, the male genitalia were symbolised by a pillar or snake. There were many stone carvings that depicted men's penises. In all places, including monasteries, there were plenty of statues depicting men and women copulating and because of this, these statues were highly respected. Indians considered sex to be important (or sacred).*

*Women's genitals were also highly respected for many years. They were symbolised by the red lotus. It is possible to see flowers everywhere and in India the red lotus is very common. The red lotus is considered precious and so, in turn, are the female genitalia. The red lotus itself is an auspicious and sacred symbol. So, Indians pray to the female genitalia. The female genitalia is [equivalent to] the Sacred, the Precious, and the Auspicious, and is thus [equivalent to] the Red Lotus. [...]*

### Demonstrations Resume in Lhasa

TIN News Update / 10 March, 1993a

There has been a resurgence of pro-independence demonstrations in Lhasa, with reports of 18 people being arrested in four separate incidents in the two weeks since 25th February, according to unconfirmed reports received by TIN from foreign travellers in the city.

The protests came as Tibetans tried to mark the 33rd anniversary of a failed revolt against Chinese rule which is said to have led to the death of at least 80,000 Tibetans in 1959.

The first of the new series of protests came on 25th February, the third day of the Tibetan New Year, when a group of Buddhist nuns are said to have staged a protest in the centre of the Tibetan quarter of Lhasa. Four or five women are reported to have been arrested.

Two further demonstrations are believed to have taken place on Tuesday 9th March. In one of the incidents, during the morning, seven or eight monks from Ganden monastery, 40 kilometres east of Lhasa, staged a protest in the Barkor, the street surrounding the Jokhang Temple in the centre of the Tibetan quarter. The monks tried to enter the Barkor from the Kyire Alley but were stopped by the police before they reached the Barkor itself. Three were arrested by police, who are said to have beaten one man who was carrying the forbidden Tibetan national flag. "The one who was carrying the Tibetan flag was dragged and slapped, kicked and punched", said one report from Lhasa.

According to a separate report seven monks were arrested by police in the same area of the city in a second incident on 9th March. During the incident, which took place at about 4pm, the monks, who were from Ganden monastery, staged a protest in the Square in front of the Jokhang Temple. Four were arrested instantly, including one who was carrying a Tibetan flag.

On Wednesday 10th March four more protesters were arrested by police after they started shouting pro-independence slogans in front of the Jokhang Temple, according to an unconfirmed report.

The demonstrations are the first known to have taken place in the Tibetan capital since October 1992, ending a long period of apparent calm.

In January 1993 the head of the local Government in Tibet suggested in his annual work report, broadcast on 11th January and monitored by the BBC, that nationalism was being crushed in Tibet. "We have smashed the evil schemes of splittists and society has become more stable with each passing day", said Gyalsen Norbu, who is also a deputy secretary of the Communist Party in Tibet.

But leaders in Tibet had been expecting unrest during the Tibetan New Year and on 5th February Raidi, the senior Tibetan official in the regional Party committee, circulated instructions at special meetings in government offices warning people not to get involved in any incidents.

The official Chinese News Agency Xinhua reported on 3rd March that the Monlam Festival, a major Buddhist festival, was taking place in all Lhasa monasteries and temples, but travellers in the city said today (10th March) that the three main monasteries near the capital have been cordoned off and monks forbidden to enter Lhasa except with special permission.

Tibetans have not been allowed to celebrate the Monlam festival in public since 1988, when the week-long ceremony became a focus for widespread protests during which at least five Tibetans and one Chinese were killed.

Travellers in Lhasa contacted on 10th March said that there has been a security clamp-down in the city and said that they had seen riot police patrolling the streets.

### Tibetan New Year, 1993: Tibetan Report

A report from a Tibetan in Lhasa on police efforts to prevent protests during the "Losar" or New Year celebrations, which began on 22nd February.

*The security arrangements in Lhasa city at Losar [the Tibetan New Year] looked as if war was about to be waged. The rooftops at important crossroads were used to set up a constant watch over what was going on, as the security services tried to use all the signal and telecommunications facilities available to them. You could see them clearly at Ramoche and Tsomoling.*

*At about 8.50 am the police noticed a Tibetan flag flying from the window on the left of the main entrance of the Jokhang temple. It had been put up in such a manner that it looked like a prayer flag except when wind blew. Hardly any of the public had noticed it. The police took it down immediately, without informing the officials in the temple, who had not noticed that it was there. They refused to believe it had been there until the police showed them the film taken by the surveillance camera in the square opposite. The film showed the flag and the security people taking it away but did not give any indication as to who had put it up or how they had done it. As a result the Jokhang officials insisted that it was not their responsibility.*

*The security forces immediately organised a meeting with the Jokhang administration. But no-one was identified as the culprit. To improve security for the day the Jokhang officials appointed their most loyal monks (supposedly) on duty.*

*For the rest of the morning there were hardly any people in Barkor. All the Chinese shops were closed, both on 22nd and 23rd February; it seems that they were expecting a major demonstration on the first day. The evening before the Public Security Bureau (PSB) had had to deploy un-uniformed men from the Peoples Armed Police (PAP) during the night; their task was to clamp down on any incident during the first 24 hours of Losar. The militia (the "Yulmak") and the State Security people were also called out to watch the Lhasa residents. It seems that the PSB are nervous about the loyalty of their own men, and these days there are more Chinese being recruited into the PSB.*

*The nuns, five of them, who were whisked away on 25th February did not go straight to jail. It seems the police loaded them into the canvas covered van almost before they could carry out the demonstration. The security services knew that the nuns were planning the protest so the nuns hardly had any time to do anything. That is why hardly anyone knew about it until nearly ten days later. By then it was impossible to find out where they were being kept. We don't know where they are.*

*On 5 March and 10 March the Barkor was again filled with security agents. At one time almost every two or three metres we found security men from the militia, the PSP, or the PAP, and others from outside the city. They are keeping a constant vigilance around the Barkor and the area round the TAR Government Offices. (TIN refs: 2(YE) 24th February 1992; 11(YJ), 13th March 1993)*

## 2 Political Leaflets: New Year 1993

During the Tibetan New Year an underground group called the Tiger Dragon Youth Group [tsag 'brug gzhon nu tshogs pa] distributed miniature political leaflets. The leaflets were printed on squares of paper roughly 7 cms by 9 cms, about the same size as a lung-ta or "windhorse" - a prayer or woodblock print of a horse carrying a "wishfulfilling gem", which are traditionally thrown by Tibetans into the updraught of incense burners during religious festivals. On Losar, the morning of 22 February 1993, police found a number of leaflets with slogans on them in the Ramoche Temple and later in the Lingkor [the outer circuit], and plain clothes officers were sent to check all the papers and windhorses lying around on the ground in the Barkor, according to one report. Two of the miniature leaflets are translated here (TIN Ref: 2, 22-25(YE)):

*Tibetans own Tibet!  
Chinese should leave Tibet!*

*Tiger Dragon Youth Congress  
"Tashi Delek" [New Year Greetings] to all Tibetans.*

*1st day of the 1st month of the Tibetan calendar  
[22nd February 1993]*

*Tibet belongs to Tibetans  
The good day is approaching  
Where there is doubt it comes from the Red Chinese  
Tibet, the roof of the world  
Has become a world issue  
Tibetans should prevail this time.*

*Tiger Dragon Youth Group*

## Names of Nine Demonstrators arrested 9th March

Tsunpa Jowa, age 20, from Meldrogongkar county, Thangkyp Jodrong, unregistered monk at Ganden  
Tenzin Choephel, age 18, from Meldrogongkar county, Gogang village, unregistered monk at Ganden  
Topjor, age 20, from Meldrogongkar county, Gyedeng [village?], unregistered monk at Ganden  
Kalsang Yonten, age 18, from Meldro Gyama, unit [rukhang] 1, unregistered monk at Ganden  
Dondrup Yugyal, age 23, from Meldro Gyama, unit 14, unregistered monk at Ganden  
Jampa Gyatso, age 20, from Meldrogongkar county, unit 5, unregistered monk at Ganden  
Norbu, age 20, from Taktse county, unregistered monk at Ganden  
Penpa, age 20, from Taktse county, unregistered monk at Ganden

All the prisoners were taken to Gutsa detention centre.

## Student Shot in Rural Protest

TIN News Update / 10 March, 1993b

Unrest seems to have continued over the winter outside Lhasa, and in January security forces opened fire during an

incident in the rural town of Nyemo, 100 km west of Lhasa, according to reports just received from an unofficial source in Tibet.

The incident began on the night of 31st December 1992 when a number of secondary school students put up posters in the main streets of the town calling on the Chinese and on the military to leave the area. The next day at about 5pm a paramilitary unit is said to have intervened after students shouted similar slogans during a protest at Nyemo Middle School.

The troops are said to have used teargas and then to have opened fire on the students. One student was shot in the leg and another is said to have been stabbed in the chest with a kitchen knife, apparently by one of the soldiers. Both were reported to have received treatment in the local hospital after the incident.

A local Tibetan official, Mrs Chimi, who tried to pacify the situation is said to have been slapped in the face by the soldiers, according to the report. Sources in Lhasa said that on 1st January police from a Lhasa police station had been rushed to the area to reinforce local security forces.

The reasons for the unrest in Nyemo are not known. Separate reports from Tibetan exiles last month said that there had been an aggressive birth control campaign in Nyemo county in August 1991, when all women with three or more children had been forcibly sterilised. The reports did not say if the campaign had led to any public protests.

## Three More Demonstrations in Lhasa

TIN News Update / 13 March, 1993 2

Three further pro-independence demonstrations have taken place in Lhasa, bringing the total over the week up to 13th March to six, according to reports from foreign travellers who were in the Tibetan capital.

The upsurge in protests follows six months of apparent calm in the Tibetan capital, where they had been no reported demonstrations since last August.

The incidents coincide with the anniversary of the failed 1959 uprising against Chinese rule, which led to the Dalai Lama's flight to India.

The latest protest took place at 3pm local time, Saturday 13th March, when three nuns were arrested immediately after they began a demonstration in the Barkor, the pilgrimage route around the Jokhang Temple in the Tibetan quarter of Lhasa. They were taken by plain clothes police into a police station where, according to unconfirmed reports, they were beaten. They were later taken to Gutsa prison.

Another protest took place on Thursday, 11th March, and involved five or six monks, believed to be from Ganden monastery. They were also seized by police.

Another incident took place on Wednesday 10th March, when seven monks, dressed in lay clothes, staged a demonstration near the Jokhang Temple, considered by many Tibetans to be the holiest shrine in Tibet.

This was the second incident to have taken place on 10th March, the 34th anniversary of the 1959 Uprising.

Police arrested all the protesters in the incident, according to the reports, bringing the total reported by unofficial sources to have been arrested this week to 28.

Three other incidents, in which 14 people are said to have been arrested, took place earlier this week, one on Wednesday, and two on Tuesday, according to earlier

reports. Another protest, in which four or five nuns were arrested, took place on 25th February.

Extra foot patrols of both armed and unarmed police as well as some truckloads of armed police had been sighted in the town, said one observer, but there was no major mobilisation of forces on the streets.

"The tactics have changed from relying on intimidation to using surveillance", said one foreigner, who said that he had been tracked by one of the three new remote-controlled video cameras erected on vantage points around the Tibetan quarter of the city.

The foreigner, who was suspected of being a journalist, was later detained and expelled from Tibet on the grounds that he had misspelt his name in his hotel register.

The traveller, who asked not to be named, confirmed that all monks in the three major monasteries near Lhasa have been confined to their monasteries, and that for the fifth successive year monasteries have been forbidden to hold the *Monlam* or Great Prayer Festival except within their temples.

The festival usually includes major outdoor ceremonies but in 1988 a *Monlam* procession led to a major demonstration.

#### Names of 3 Demonstrators arrested 13th March

**Ngawang Drolma**, age 18, from Toelung, nun at Michungri Nunnery

**Jampa Dedron**, age 21, from Meldrogungkar, nun at Michungri Nunnery

**Tenzin Dekyong**, age 15, from Meldrogungkar, nun at Michungri Nunnery

They are believed to have been imprisoned in Gutsa prison.

**Political Leaflet, March 10th Anniversary: Respect Your National Roots.**

In March a leaflet recalling the Tibetan Uprising of 10th March 1959 was issued by a previously unknown underground organisation called the "Tibetan People's Group" (*lbod mi dmangs tshogs pa*), probably a pseudonym for the Tiger Leopard Youth Group, which issued a similar poster on the same day. Both leaflets were printed on a high quality Tibetan typewriter or computer. (TIN Ref: 111YE/Doc 4(YJ))

#### 10th March 1993

Today is the 34th anniversary of the Tibetan people's uprising and martyrdom against the Red Chinese deceit and forcible occupation. To celebrate for these reasons is a responsibility that all of us Tibetans share. We have the leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama that no-one has in the world. There is no doubt at all that truth will prevail.

*Victory to Tibet, victory to the deities.*

During the period of 42 years of Chinese invasion and occupation indescribable changes have taken place in respect of the Tibetan people's culture, customs, habits, attitudes, history, land use (*lsa kham gi chak sul*), natural resources, and so on. Tibetan language, which has been the language of the nation of Tibet for over 1,300 years, is being destroyed by the Chinese barbarians and it is a basic policy of China to bring Tibet to a pass where it has no future at all. Although there is no dearth of publications about Tibetan people's history, they are twisted because there is no freedom to tell the truth. In particular, although there are a few writers in Tibet their writings of history are twisted and there is not truth at all [in what they write]. That is a sign that the Chinese barbarians have no truth.

the Chinese barbarians have reduced the unique Tibetan medical system to just a travesty of what it actually was. In 1960 there were two doctors in the Chakpori Medical Centre in Lhasa who could treat patients based on the smell

of the patient's clothes. No other nation has that kind of skill. Now that kind of skill has been wiped out completely.

On top of that the Chinese are destroying the medical ingredients, because they have destroyed the flora and fauna. And this the Chinese call development. They claim to have [provided] good [public] health, but Tibetans have to pay for the medicines. In many farmlands and pasture-lands and towns many Buddhists die for lack of treatment, the reason being that from 1992 onwards for each patient a charge of 500 to 1,000 yuan rmb is being charged. If you don't have that then you have to die for lack of treatment. Since over 90% of Tibetans are poor the Chinese barbarians describe it as progress and claim an increase of population.

There is no need to explain the fact that Tibetans have no right to bear children. Who can believe the Chinese claim that Tibetan population has been increasing while hiding the facts? This is a basis for an attempt to annihilate a race. Therefore beware!

Since their forcible invasion the Chinese barbarians have made it very difficult to understand the actual situation and have spread rumours, lies, caused baseless doubts and misled the people by claiming that tremendous changes would occur in the whole world. Now the truth is beginning to be realised around the world. Our leader His Holiness the Dalai Lama has become a very famous personality in the world who is respected by both Governments and private groups who trust him as well as seek his advice. The Chinese refer to him as the splittist Dalai clique movement.

If it were the case that Tibet had been a part of China throughout history, then what about the pillar in front of the Jokhang Temple on which is inscribed "Tibetans are happier in Tibet and Chinese are happier in China"? Who had written that? During the years of Mongol rule over China Tibet was not part of that empire. Tibet and Mongolia were not included in Manchu history as such. Therefore there is no reason for the invasion and forcible imposition of the 17 Point Agreement. The fact of Tibetan independence is clear from both the spoken and written language. In over 1,300 years there has been no other language in use [here] other than in Tibetan. Therefore the state of Tibet was an independent country until 20th March 1959.

As changes are taking place in the world, changes are bound to occur in China. As everyone wants freedom and no-one wants servitude, so too do the Chinese people want it. Likewise the Tibetan people should not just think of their personal interests but prepare for establishing a future democratic Tibet. The career opportunities of your children, your nationalities, your ideology, and your education, and so on should be held especially dear. Unless you respect your own national roots then you are no better than an animal.

Secondly, the fate of Tibet is intimately linked to the root of Buddhism. The enemies of Buddhism must be destroyed completely. All Tibetans should strive to oust the Chinese from Tibet. When change occurs it will come like a dream [suddenly]. Accordingly you must think even now that it is not too late. Everybody should strive hard to bring the day when Buddhism in general and the Dalai Lama in particular, who is the saviour and protector of Tibet, are restored to the Potala once again. May His Holiness the Dalai Lama live long and may all his endeavours be successful!

*From the Tibetan People's Group, 10th March 1993*

#### Nepal: Police Threaten Tibetan Protesters

TIN News Update / 13 March, 1993b

On Wednesday 10th March demonstrations held by exile Tibetans outside Tibet to mark the anniversary of the 1959 Uprising led to over 100 arrests in India and Nepal.



Police in New Delhi arrested between 100 and 150 Tibetans after they tried to march on the Chinese Embassy, the demonstrators had earlier burnt 34 Chinese flags, one for each year since their flight into exile.

In Nepal police tried to stop an estimated ten thousand Tibetans who were shouting pro-independence slogans at the Buddhist shrine at Boudha, outside Kathmandu. The crowd dispersed when armed police were brought in and officers threatened to open fire.

At least eleven people were detained, four during the attempted demonstration and seven for distributing pamphlets the night before. All have since been released.

Last month police had told Tibetans in Boudha that they were not allowed to carry a portrait of the Dalai Lama in a street procession on February 25th, saying that it constituted political activity. The Tibetans ignored the order and on that occasion police did not intervene.

The head of the ruling Nepali Congress Party, K.P. Bhattarai, told TIN in an interview last month that Nepal's restrictions on political activity by Tibetans were justifiable.

"A little stoppage here and a little injustice here will keep us and them in a very good mood - the Chinese and we also, the entire country, are happy," said Dr Bhattarai, who was Prime Minister until 1991. "A section of the Tibetans, yes, I know we ought to have given them permission, but you can't ignore China."

A Tibetan activist in Nepal, who asked not to be named, said the Nepalese action on Wednesday had angered some Tibetans, but he noted that the detainees had been released quickly. "People understand that the Nepalese have some excuse because they are under strong Chinese pressure", he said.

### Major Demonstrations in Lhasa

TIN News Update/May 24b 1993 1345 GMT

There has been a major outbreak of unrest in Lhasa today Monday 24th May involving 2-3,000 Tibetans stoning a police station and shops owned by Chinese migrants, according to foreigners contacted within the capital.

The protests were continuing at least up to 1pm GMT, which is 9pm local time.

Chinese are said to have been restrained at first but have since used large amounts of teargas. There are vague and unconfirmed reports of gunfire. There is an unconfirmed report of one person killed.

First reports say that incident was sparked off by a protest over taxation beginning at about 7.15 this morning.

Yesterday Sunday 23rd May was a sensitive anniversary during which the Chinese authorities in Tibet celebrate what most Tibetans see as the invasion and annexation of their country. It marked the 42nd anniversary of the signing of the 17 Point Agreement in 1951, a day celebrated by the Chinese as the symbol of the "Peaceful Liberation" of Tibet by the Red Army.

On the same day two years ago thousands of Tibetans were obliged to take part in Chinese victory celebrations, but probably continue to view the occasion as the anniversary of a foreign invasion.

This is by far the most serious outbreak of unrest in Tibet for the last four years. Martial law, lifted only after 13 months, was declared on March 7th 1989 after a series of very similar incidents.

Early yesterday a team of 12 diplomats left the city hours before the anniversary began. But a senior Danish ambassador is believed to be still in the Tibetan capital.

There have been over 150 known demonstration in Tibet since the re-emergence of mass protests in the Himalayan region in September 1987.

Almost all protests have been in support of the pro-independence movement. Tension has risen dramatically over the last month as the Chinese authorities failed to restrict a marked increase since March 1992 of Chinese migrants, mostly small traders, moving into the city.

In the period 1987-1989 approximately 3,000 Tibetans were imprisoned for political activities and at least 200 killed by security forces during major demonstrations. Since 1990 there have been more protests, but involving only small numbers of Tibetans. However, political arrests from those small incidents doubled in 1992 from the previous year.

### Protests in Lhasa, 24th May 1993

TIN News Update/May 24e 1993 1810 GMT

Update 5: Provisional Account compiled from South China Morning Post, BBC, and from TIN sources, all quoting unnamed foreigners in Lhasa

The protests, described by most sources as mainly peaceful, started late morning or at midday (earlier report that incident started at 7 am was wrong) and initially involved about 150 people. This figure later rose in the early stages to 800 people, according to some reports.

The initial protests were in response mainly to sharp price rises and rent increases (although some sources describe this as a pretext).

They may also have been responses to unconfirmed reports that several monks from Sera monastery had been detained on Sunday for briefly raising the Tibetan flag yesterday, the 42nd anniversary of the signing of the "17 Point Agreement" in 1951 by which Tibet was formally annexed for the first time to China.

The crowd, which is described by BBC sources as consisting mainly of women together with a number of monks, marched for two hours from the Jokhang Temple in the Tibetan quarter of the city along the main shopping streets, and past the Potala Palace to a government economic policy office opposite the Holiday Inn Hotel, 3 kilometres outside the centre of Lhasa. The protesters, then described as mostly small traders and shopkeepers, held a peaceful sit-in.

By this time, about 2 or 3pm local time, there were about 300 demonstrators, spitting and yelling insults at the police around the government building. The police did not respond. Similar peaceful protests against tax and price increases took place in December 1990, 7-10th June 1991, and December 1992 and were tolerated by the authorities, who agreed then to immediate but short term cuts in taxes or prices.

As the protesters marched back to the Jokhang Temple from the Holiday Inn area they were met by security forces in riot gear, armed with clubs, who made one charge against the demonstrators, mainly women, and now numbering about 5-600. Two armoured vehicles were brought into the area, one of them containing troops with machine guns, according to the BBC reports.

By about 4pm the demonstrators had regrouped in large numbers apparently in response to the increase security presence, and between 1,000 and 3,000 went through the city, throwing stones at those shops or stores that had remained open, according to some sources. These were shops owned mainly by Chinese migrants, since Tibetan



owned shops had been closed since early morning, as is usual during incidents of this kind.

Some sources say that the demonstrators also attacked the police station at the Barkor. One witness described people trying to hold the demonstrators back. One source says that they attacked the police station because prisoners were held inside; Others say the protests were linked to demands for the release of the prisoners arrested before the EC delegation arrived in Tibet last week.

Around 6.30 to 7 pm the police and Wu Jing and Military launched teargas canisters into the air. One source says this started at 7.15 pm. The BBC cites a source as saying that the firing of teargas began only after the protesters started to shout pro-independence slogans. There were also slogans accusing the Chinese of encouraging an increase in alcohol use and prostitution in Lhasa, which are trends widely associated by Tibetans with the dramatic increase in Chinese migration into Central Tibet over the last 12 months.

A little later - one source says at 7.42 pm - the security forces opened fire into the air. One report says the gunfire was continuous for ten minutes, and sounded like rapid or automatic fire. There are unconfirmed and isolated reports of one person being shot in the leg. Only one report, which was second hand, describes a fatality.

Reuters report that several people were seen being taken away by police, but gave no more details.

The firing of teargas canisters continued for up to 2 hours, according to some sources, until about 8 or 9pm local time. Since then the streets have been more or less clear, with streets mainly full of police patrols.

Foreigners have been confined to hotels. About 15 Westerners were said to be have detained for a few hours during the protests, apparently for watching the incidents or taking photographs of them, both of which have been illegal in Tibet since 1987.

One woman, apparently an American who speaks Tibetan, was ordered to leave Tibet, according to the BBC and Reuters quoting travellers in the city.

Tourists also reported that the forbidden Tibetan national flag was flown from the Jokhang Temple in the Tibetan quarter of Lhasa on May 19th morning for a some time, during the visit of the EC Ambassadors to Lhasa. The Ambassadors, who were in Tibet from 16th to early 23rd May, apparently did not know about the protest during their visit. A senior Danish diplomat is believed to be still in the city for private reasons.

#### **May 25th Update: Protesters dispersed by teargas: witness account of serious injury**

TIN News Update / May 25, 1993a 1800 GMT [This dispatch consists only of reports from Lhasa not already carried by wire services]

There was a heavy police presence in Lhasa today and tension remained high in the Tibetan capital throughout the day, according to foreigners in the city contacted by TIN and other agencies.

A demonstration involving between 100 and 200 people took place at around midday on Tuesday in the Barkor, the main square in the Tibetan quarter of Lhasa. By nightfall there were no other confirmed accounts of incidents.

In the midday incident police used teargas to disperse the crowd as soon as it formed. From their hotel windows witnesses "could see riot police immediately run onto the roofs opposite and fire large numbers of teargas canisters

down into the crowd", according to witnesses in the Snowlands Hotel, cited by the BBC.

In some cases grenade-like canisters were thrown into the crowds by members of the security forces, according to foreign witnesses contacted by TIN. One described what appeared to them to be a serious injury sustained when a Tibetan was hit directly in the face by teargas grenade, which exploded on impact.

"There was blood everywhere" said the witness, who asked not to be identified. He reported that he saw the injured man carried away by friends.

The Chinese authorities indicated that yesterday's unrest turned into a pro-independence demonstration. "It began as a protest in the name of lowering prices for grain and oil, but it changed its nature into a counter-revolutionary activity", said a police spokesman in Lhasa today.

He said that the none of the demonstrators were either injured or arrested, but said that eight police officers were injured, some of them seriously. Witnesses did not confirm the injuries to the police, but did say the police headquarters and other government buildings were attacked by the demonstrators.

Meanwhile a high-level meeting of top party, government and security officials was held this evening to discuss how to handle the situation, according to TIN sources in the city.

The meeting was called to discuss to handle the unrest, including whether to allow foreigners to continue to visit the city. The high-level discussions, including regional level officials, lasted over two hours, finishing at about 9pm Lhasa time. The outcome of these discussions is not yet known, but some observers in Lhasa think that the police may decide on heavier tactics if unrest resumes tomorrow (Wednesday).

Foreigners were ordered to remain in their hotels during the midday demonstration but were otherwise allowed to move around relatively freely. No new arrivals appear to have been allowed into Lhasa today.

#### **Additional Information about 24th May Incidents**

There are widely varying reports and no reliable figures for the numbers detained or injured during Monday's demonstrations. These included some unsubstantiated reports of deaths occurring among demonstrators.

One unconfirmed report claims that a young Tibetan boy may have died from inhaling a large amount of teargas. A Westerner contacted by TIN described the report as "solid".

One eye witness, contacted by the Independent newspaper, reported that the police chased demonstrators down side streets firing teargas directly into the fleeing crowds.

Figures for the numbers involved in the demonstrations on Monday were put at around 1,000 by several witnesses contacted today. Most reports yesterday had put the numbers involved at over 2,000.

A Westerner with extensive experience in Tibet noted the growing concern about price rises and inflation in Lhasa, in a report written on 4th May:

"The prices of kerosene, medical care and accommodation are among those brought to my attention so far - increases of 500-1000% in each case - mainly because privatisation is the order of the day and government subsidies have disappeared, even for those with residence permits and ration cards," wrote the Westerner, who speaks Tibetan and is still in Tibet.

## More Arrests in Lhasa: June 1st

TIN News Update / June 1, 1993b [extracts]

Between 7 and 13 Tibetans are reported to have been arrested in pro-independence protests today 1st June in Lhasa, according to reports from foreign travellers in the city.

At about 10.30 am today 7 people were arrested and herded into a bus by police, according to one witness contacted by phone by the South China Morning Post. Another witness, speaking to the same newspaper, said the protesters were arrested after police wielding electric cattle prods intervened to stop a brief protest.

Foreign eyewitnesses cited by Reuters, describing what may have been a separate incident, said that three Tibetans had been arrested and then driven away in a windowless van. The incident involved up to ten men who ran round the Barkor brandishing Tibetan flags and shouting pro-independence slogans, said Reuters.

Up to 30 people tried to stop the van, which has remained stationed in the central square of Lhasa since protests broke out last week. It eventually ploughed through the crowd and drove away, according to the news agency.

Three other Tibetans were arrested later near the Snowlands Hotel, on the north-western corner of the Barkor, according to a separate report received from a TIN source in Lhasa. The source contacted by TIN claimed that the three batches of arrests took place at different times during the day, but did not make it clear if there had been more than one demonstration.

All the reports said that the demonstrators appeared to be lay people, and one report claimed that at least one woman was amongst those arrested.

The Barkor area of Lhasa, where most protests take place, has been closed to individual foreigners. Official notices have been placed in several hotels in Lhasa telling tourists not to enter the area unless they are accompanied by a guide, said one witness.

A number of reports refer to increasing tension in the build-up to the full moon of Saga Dawa, one of the holiest days of the Buddhist calendar. The festival, which marks the birth, enlightenment and death of the Buddha, will be celebrated on Friday 4th June, when thousands of Tibetans are expected to circumambulate the Lingkor, or outer circuit, of the city.

## Crack-down in Lhasa, Exiles blamed: Negotiations; Arrests

TIN News Update / June 9, 1993

The Chinese authorities in Tibet have launched a crackdown on nationalists and blamed recent unrest on the Dalai Lama's exile government, according to a broadcast by the official radio station in Lhasa.

The statement, issued on 7th June, included a call for intensified "ideological-political work amongst the masses", suggesting concern amongst the leadership that discontent with economic changes could fuel the pro-independence movement.

Monday's call came the day after another small demonstration in Lhasa, the seventh reported incident in the two weeks of protest which began when a group of monks staged a small demonstration on May 23rd. [...]

## Crackdown, Ideological Training

"We must resolutely crackdown on the criminal activities of the separatists" said the statement, according to a report issued today in the BBC's Summary of World Broadcasts. At

the same time it told people to "conduct meticulous and careful ideological-political work among the masses".

The ideological work would be devoted to explaining "the advantages and disadvantages of reform" to the masses, a reference to the price rises and increase in school and medical fees which formed the target of initial demonstrations on May 24th. Tibetan traders closed their shops in a pre-arranged boycott from 24th-30th May, according to unofficial reports from Lhasa.

The move differs from earlier ideological campaigns, which focussed on monasteries and asserted that religion was the only basis for pro-independence support. The change reflects concern about a possible shift in the leadership of nationalist movement from monks or nuns to the lay people, a potentially explosive development. The protests on 24th and 25th May were led entirely by lay people.

The crackdown was a response to "some new measures" adopted by the Dalai Lama clique, which involved it in "taking advantage of some hot issues in society", said the report. The exile Tibetan government had "incited the masses to create incidents in an attempt to undermine national unity", it added.

Over the week up to 9th June local Congress deputies and minor officials have broadcast speeches promising to resolve the problems of "extremely rapid increases in commodity prices". But until Monday the statements focussed on the regulations governing demonstrations in Tibet, suggesting that the unrest was seen as involving mainly administrative offences.

One of the "Rules for the Implementation of the Law on Assembly, Procession and Demonstrations", described in at least three speeches in the week 1st-7th June, says that the number of participants in a demonstration and the texts of all slogans have to be submitted to the police five days in advance. Anyone demonstrating without a permit can be detained by the police and punished, say the regulations.

In a broadcast on Thursday 3rd June the Deputy Director of the TAR Public Security Bureau called on people to "conscientiously wage a resolute struggle against the conspiratorial activities of the separatist elements".

On Sunday 6th June the Director of the TAR Justice Department reminded listeners that China "practices the system of a people's democratic dictatorship" and that police can use "forceful means" to handle unauthorised assemblies.

"Your plots will never succeed", the official told unspecified conspirators, who were named as the Dalai Lama clique only in Monday's broadcast.

## Negotiations Reported

The attack on the exile Government came as news leaked out from Beijing of the first negotiations for a year between the Tibetan and the Chinese sources.

According to a source close to the Chinese Government, a team of Chinese officials returned to Beijing on 31st May after several days of discussion in Hong Kong with Gyalo Thondup, an elder brother of the Dalai Lama who since 1979 has been the main go-between in the fragile process of talks between the two sides.

An earlier attempt at talks by Gyalo Thondup in 1987 also coincided with the outbreak of major protests in Lhasa, and led to Chinese allegations that exiles had incited unrest.

But both episodes followed waves of arrests and political suppression by the Chinese which might also have been aimed at undermining talks. Dozens of Tibetans, including

two known human rights activists, were arrested in the two weeks before the May protests.

Discussions with Gyalo Thondup are believed to have focussed on a possible visit to Tibet by an exile delegation looking for opportunities at economic investment in the area by exiles, according to the unconfirmed report.

The device would mirror strategies Beijing has used for years to attract expatriates from Hong Kong and Taiwan, a parallel which may lead to opposition from sectors of the Tibetan exile movement.

Mr Thondup, currently Minister of Security in the Exile Government, yesterday denied that any negotiations were under way. A ten point set of demands handed to him by Beijing on his last visit in June 1992 included an insistence on absolute secrecy.

#### 9 Arrests 4th, 6th June

The latest reported protest incident in Lhasa took place on Sunday 6th June when 3 monks, wearing civilian clothes, were arrested shortly before 2pm in the south-east corner of the Barkor, the pilgrimage route that surrounds Lhasa's main temple.

The monks, whose names are not known, were shouting slogans and carrying a white banner apparently calling for independence, according to foreign tourists in the city contacted by TIN.

A similar incident took place at about midday on Friday 4th June, when 6 men were arrested a few minutes after they appeared in the Barkor square carrying Tibetan flags.

One report said the men, described by one foreign witness as about 18 years old, were in three separate groups around the square for the few minutes during which the incident lasted. The tourist, contacted by phone in Lhasa, claimed that the men had been beaten with sticks during the 4th June arrests.

Later reports named two of those arrested for on 4th June as Ngawang Topchu (layname Paljor), age 22, from Meldro Gyama, and Ngawang Lobzel (layname Tenzin), age 23, from Meldro Gyama Trikhang.

According to one tourist between 15 and 20 police in riot gear were on duty in the square during the day, which marked an important Buddhist festival, the birthday of the Buddha.

A large number of plain clothes police were also evident on 4th June, he said, together with security officials using "sophisticated television equipment", he said.

#### An Appeal: No Way to Earn Money

A appeal issued anonymously by a Tibetan in Lhasa in June 1993 shows the increasing concern among Tibetans with the economic aspects of their situation [TIN Ref: 31YQJ].

*We Tibetans have almost no source of income and few ways to earn money. We have no possibilities for paid work, and no place to do business, not even petty trading. Items from China have become extremely expensive. Only our own agricultural products and other rural items are still reasonably priced.*

*When the Chinese claim that they permit freedom of religion it is only words. The reality is that we don't have this right in the full sense. The limited rights that we have are effectively denied by the constant and heavy presence of soldiers, security agents in uniform and in plain clothes all over Lhasa and especially around the Tibetan areas, and around the Barkor, who are always ready to arrest Tibetans.*

*We Tibetans want rights to freedom.*

*As for us monks living in monasteries, we are not entitled to rations. Besides the right to chant prayers and look at the scriptures we are not able to consult our senior scholar-monks or to listen to their teachings. If we want to re-build on land which had for generations belonged to us, we have to buy the land, as if it belonged to the state. The price of land has doubled, and as such it is beyond our means.*

*They have also increased the prices of rations [vouchers].*

*We Tibetans, even if we go to school, our knowledge cannot be applied anywhere. Day by day our living conditions are going from bad to worse. All the work places and businesses are occupied by the Chinese and there is no possibility for Tibetans to earn any money.*

#### Rural Protests in Medrogungkar, Tibet

TIN News Update /11 July 1993

Eight Tibetan peasants have been arrested from a rural district of central Tibet after a series of small demonstrations, according to reports received from the area.

Three people were arrested from Rinchenling, a group of villages in the district of Draklok in Medrogungkar County, 70 km east of Lhasa, reportedly for staging protests including a demonstration during which they shouted slogans calling for Tibetan independence.

The demonstration, believed to have taken place in April, interrupted an official meeting in the village, according to one local source, who said that an unspecified number of people from four neighbouring villages had been involved in the incident.

The Rinchenling protest was led by a 53 year old woman named Drolma, together with two men, Jamphel, aged 25, and Kunchog Tenzin, aged 27.

The three were arrested at separate times during the week 21st-28th April after an operation lasting several days, suggesting that police had some difficulty in identifying or locating the three leaders.

In one neighbouring village, Tashigang, also in Draklok district, the interrogation of suspects by the security services is said to have continued "day and night" as they sought information about the disturbances.

As of mid-May Drolma, Jamphel and Kunchog Tenzin were still in custody, and were being held incommunicado, apparently in the prison in the county town of Medrogungkar. "Their families are still not allowed to visit or make any contact with the prisoners", said the source, who asked not to be named.

The Rinchenling incident - which appears to have been a part series of small protests over a week-long period in March or April - followed a wave of unrest in the Medrogungkar area which began on 22nd February, the first day of the Tibetan year, when 14 people from the village of Trikhang in the Gyama valley, 60 km east of Lhasa, shouted slogans calling for the return of the Dalai Lama and the independence of Tibet.

Two local policemen attempted to intervene but were pushed off by the bystanders, according to one report. A similar incident took place the same day during New Year celebrations in the neighbouring county town of Taktse, 40 km east of Lhasa, where police are said to have opened fire to disperse a crowd surrounding the house of a local police informer.

Police took three months to identify the suspects involved in the incident in Gyama, arresting two men from Trikhang - Tempa Sonam, age 26, and Ledro, age 24 - on 4th May.

Two days later, on 6th May, three other men from Trikhang were arrested: **Sonam Tsering**, age 27, **Bagdro**, age 25, and **Dorje**, also aged 25. As of mid-May the five men were still being held incommunicado in the county prison in the town of Medrogungkar.

Police activity in the villages of Dashar and Trikhang was described as "intense" in early May, with patrols day and night, and reportedly "brutal" detention of suspects for interrogation.

"They are terrorising the majority of the inhabitants", said the source. "They are even paying people to act as informants and make denunciations in order to keep control of the situation," the source added.

Pro-independence activists are said to have continued to put up wall posters in the villages in the district of Tsache (sometimes called Tsashoe), also in Medrogungkar county. Police were said to have been unable to identify those involved despite "energetic inquiries" and so far no arrests are known to have been carried out in Tsache.

There was serious unrest in the Gyama area of Medrogungkar in 1992, and at a trial in Lhasa on 20th October last year four farmers received sentences of between 13 and 15 years each for staging a pro-independence demonstration on 30th June in the area. Another farmer from Gyama, 42 year old **Thubten Yeshe**, received a 15 year sentence because he had made a Tibetan national flag and put up posters in the village of Trikhang.

The 1992 incidents appear to have been sparked off by the arrests in March 1992 of three villagers who had protested against Chinese mining operations in the area. Tension escalated when the authorities began a series of intensive political education meetings in the villages.

But the incidents this year are associated with the level of poverty in the area. There is said to be a shortage of the Tibetan staple food, roasted barley flour, in the villages of Rinchenling and Trikhang, according to one source, who said that many of the inhabitants of Tsache district, reputed to be the poorest district in Medrogungkar county, go to Lhasa to beg for food for at least one month each year.

#### **Tibet Protests spread to Peasants, Workers, Students** TIN News Update / 31 July, 1993

Demonstrations by farmers in rural Tibetan villages in June suggest that nationalist unrest in Tibet is spreading beyond the capital Lhasa, where workers and students have also started organising protests, according to unofficial reports from the area.

The wave of protests has led to at least 74 arrests of political activists in two months, with half of them taking place in the capital and half in small country villages, according to various unofficial reports from Tibet.

The reports, compiled by TIN, give the names of 42 of the 74 Tibetans so far believed to have been arrested in May and June. 37 (50%) of those on the list, which is not complete, are lay people; 26 (35%) are nuns, while 11 are monks.

So far this year the Chinese authorities have confirmed the detention of three Tibetans in connection with political activities.

The rural demonstrations, unlike the urban protest marches, show little fear of authority, and in one case last month farmers operated road blocks on the main road in their area for two days before armed police moved in. There have been over a hundred similar rural incidents reported in China this year, but the Tibetan cases appear to be fuelled by demands for independence rather than tax concessions.

In the capital Tibetan factory workers are reported to have staged a brief pro-independence demonstration in June, following the initiatives of shopkeepers in Lhasa, who launched a major protest against price rises on May 24th. Until this May, street protests in Tibet have mainly been led by Buddhist monks and nuns.

#### **Lhundrup Farmers Free Prisoners**

In one rural village, Nemo in Tsodoe township, Lhundrup county (1), 45 km north of Lhasa, on 26th June, farmers overturned a police car in order to free two prisoners who were being driven to the county jail in Lhundrup, 10 km to the east. The prisoners, both monks from Nemo monastery, had been arrested after police found pro-independence documents during a search of the monastery earlier that day.

The next morning 200 soldiers dispatched by the authorities in Lhundrup surrounded the village and arrested four people. Two of the detainees, both men, were named as **Ngawang Tsering** and **Tsewang** by local sources, who say that there are reports that the four have been tortured.

Officials made a public statement in the village announcing the arrests and calling for three other monks from Nemo, who had evaded arrest, to be captured and handed over to the police. The raid on Nemo monastery, apparently viewed as a centre of local nationalism, had followed the arrest of a school teacher from Nemo village.

The teacher, whose name is **Lhakpa**, worked at the school established by the local villagers in Nemo and was arrested on 21st June 1993, apparently for alleged involvement in political activities. Lhakpa, who is probably now in the county jail at Lhundrup, had been beaten during or shortly after the arrest and is believed to be in a serious condition, according to local sources.

#### **Lhokha Farmers Block Road, 18 Arrests**

A similar but apparently unconnected incident took place in Tibet's southern province of Lhokha on 27th June, when farmers from a village beside Sungling [also called Sungbraling] monastery staged a pro-independence demonstration, according to a separate source in Lhasa. After distributing leaflets and posters calling for independence the farmers set up a road block and began checking all traffic on the main road through their area, claimed the source, in an unconfirmed account.

The local administration, apparently underestimating the scale of the protest, sent a number of officials to look into the incident. The cadres spent the day without food beside the road while the demonstrators spat on them and called them names. The officials were eventually reduced to bargaining with the crowd for hot water, which they received, according to the report.

The local farmers continued to stop all passing vehicles until armed police took over the village on the evening of 28th June, arresting 18 people, including 2 monks from Sungling monastery [for details see below "Troops take over Tibet Village"]

Protests are believed to have taken place in other rural areas of central Tibet during this period. On June 2nd in Chideshol, also in Lhokha, 40 km south of Lhasa, pro-independence posters are reported to have been put up in villages in the Upper and Lower Chideshol valley in Lhokha, and one account referred to the Tibetan national flag being hoisted over the main road in the area. There are also rumours of protest in the town of Tsethang, the capital of Lhokha, where 6 monks from the monastery of Ga Lhakhang are said to have been arrested in early June.



100 kilometres west of Lhasa, in Nyemo county, two important local figures were arrested for political activities in April, one of them a farmer (2) and the other the chant master at the monastery of Nyemo Gyaltsé (3). Two nuns attached to the same monastery, **Ngawang Kelsang** and **Pema Yeshe**, were arrested in early June following "very active demonstrations", according to a separate but unconfirmed report.

One monk from Sangrichu monastery, also in Nyemo, previously a student at Nechung Buddhist Institute in Lhasa, was arrested in May for distributing nationalist literature, according to other reports. The incident led Lhasa police to impose a virtual ban on religious teaching by visiting Lamas in the area in May.

These incidents complete a circle of protest on all four sides of Lhasa, following similar incidents, already publicised, in Meldrongkar county, 40 km east of Lhasa, where two farmers (4) and a nomad (5) were arrested in the first week of May for their part in a pro-independence protest on February 22nd which sparked off a chain of local incidents. One recent report noted that one of the arrested farmers, **Tenpa Sonam**, was a member of the Communist Party.

Two other men, believed to be monks, **Sonam Tsering** (6) and **Bagdro** (7), were arrested from Gyama Trikhang village on 6th or 7th May for writing pro-independence slogans on the walls of a government building, according to several sources.

#### Lhasa Factory Workers Protest

On 2nd June, for what is believed to be the first time in Tibet, industrial workers staged a pro-independence protest when 40 workers carrying the Tibetan national flag gathered in the compound of the Lhasa Cement Factory, according to an unconfirmed report. The Cement Factory workers had gathered "to demonstrate for workers' rights to a proper salary but [who] were also shouting anti-Chinese slogans", according to the report.

The marchers were dispersed with teargas fired by police positioned on the roof of their buildings before they were able to leave the compound.

It is now known that workers at the Cement Factory, the biggest industry in Lhasa, had earlier joined in protests against price rises on 24th May, during which they had called for wage increases. Dissatisfaction amongst workers in the factory had been fuelled by Tibetans being increasingly replaced by Chinese workers, according to one report from Lhasa. The marked increase in the number of Chinese migrants moving into Tibet over the last year has become a sensitive issue in the Tibetan capital.

"Since the Chinese authorities began to encourage the settlement of the Chinese population, many Chinese have been employed in the Cement factory, leading to the laying off of many old and qualified Tibetan workers who are now facing difficult living conditions", said the anonymous report.

"After the recent demonstrations in Lhasa the factories and business companies where pro-independence posters remained stuck up for a whole day were closed down", claimed one report from Tibet in late June, but did not give details. "No dramatic incidents took place. But unlike in the past people's anger and protest is becoming stronger day by day", said the source, who asked not to be named.

The 24th May protests, which were ostensibly aimed at rising prices, had substantial support from Tibetan shopkeepers and led to a seven day shut-down of the shops owned by Tibetans in the old city of Lhasa.

Latest reports show that a similar incident took place in Shigatse, Tibet's second city, where protests are rare, on 15th June, when Tibetan shops in the market place

reportedly closed down for the day, apparently in a protest against rising prices. Unconfirmed reports suggest mounting tension in the city, referring to the alleged arrests of over 20 monks from Tashilhunpo, seat of the Panchen Lama, second only to the Dalai Lama in the religious hierarchy.

#### Students Plan Protest

Students at the University of Tibet, who have not staged a demonstration in Lhasa since the 1989 democracy movement, are now known to have also made preparations for a protest march. Students at the Department of Higher Tibetan Studies at the University had planned to lead a march through the Tibetan capital on 30th May but were forestalled by the authorities, who organised classes on the same day, a Sunday, and then locked the students and staff onto the campus.

In a political meeting that afternoon the students were told that they would be expelled if they joined, watched or discussed any demonstration. "The idea of being expelled at this stage, just a few months or a year before graduation, seemed a premature sacrifice when they could still contribute in many ways as graduates", said one Tibetan with close connections to the students, explaining why they had given up their protest plan.

A number of unconfirmed reports refer to an incident in a secondary school in Lhasa, originally fuelled by the imposition of school fees of 20 yuan (\$3) per month for each student. Students in the school are said to have barricaded the premises for over 2 days in April and thrown furniture at police when they attempted to arrest three pupils, including one girl, who had led a protest against the fees. The three are later said to have been detained. A similar incident is reported to have taken place in the secondary school in Nyemo county on 1st January (8). One of the three banners carried by marchers on 24th May called for a decrease in school fees, and the authorities later promised to re-consider educational charges.

#### Notes:

- 1 **Tsodo**: Tibetan: mtsho-sdod, Chinese: Zongdu. Lhundrup is called Linzhou by the Chinese.
- 2 **Lobsang Gyaltsen**, who comes from the family of the former Tibetan Prime Minister Surkhang, from Nyemo Sangri. He studied at the School of Buddhist Studies in Nechung, near Lhasa.
- 3 **Ngawang Choedrak**, son of the Dhar-drong Tre-sur family, and the master of chanting at Nyemo Gyaltsé monastery.
- 4 **Tenpa**, from Meldro Gyama Trikhang. Father's name **Lobsang**; family name: **Khangsar**. Party member.
- 5 **Dorje** from Meldro Gyama Dasher; mother's name: **Yeshe Wangmo**; family name: **Khangsar**.
- 6 **Sonam Tsering**, from Meldro Gyama Trikhang; Father's name: **Tsering** (mute). Mother's name: **Rigzin Choedron**.
- 7 **Bagdro**, from Meldro Gyama Trikhang; Father's name: **Konchog**.
- 8 See TIN News Update 10th March 1993, "Demonstrations Resume in Lhasa - Student Shot in Rural Protest".

#### Troops take over Tibet Village: Villagers Appeal to UN

TIN News Update / 11 August, 1993

A group of villages in Southern Tibet has issued an appeal for help from the United Nations because hundreds of Chinese troops have taken over their villages after the inhabitants staged a pro-independence demonstration.

The soldiers, who have set up machine gun posts overlooking the villages, are said to be arresting dissidents and "terrorising" the population.

The appeal, issued on 6th July by the villagers of Kyimshi, a *xiang* or group of villages in southern Tibet, was received three days ago by TIN, an independent news organisation based in London.

"All the people in the village participated as a whole in this major demonstration and as a result people are undergoing

severe treatment, imprisonment, and torture," says the appeal, which was "written by the people of Kyimshi *xiang*".

Kyimshi is a *xiang* in Gongkar county, Lhokha Prefecture, and is situated in the Upper Chideshol valley, 45 km south of Lhasa. It is referred to in some accounts as Nelmo near Langthang, and includes the monastery of Sungrabling, also known as Sungling or Suruling.

There are unconfirmed reports of troops taking over at least two other villages near Lhasa (Nemo in Phenpo Lhundrup and Samdrupling in Lhokha Gongkar) after similar protests in June. An uncorroborated report says large numbers of armed police took over the village of Rinchenling in Medrogongkar after a protest in June. But the Kyimshi appeal gives the first detailed account of martial law being imposed in a Tibetan village.

The villagers say that on 28th June 1,700 (seventeen hundred) soldiers surrounded the village, and have now dug gun emplacements into the mountain side overlooking their houses. Armed party officials are conducting house-to-house searches and 3 soldiers are guarding each house, according to the appeal. By 5th July 35 people had been arrested from the Kyimshi *xiang* or from the nearby monasteries of Sungrabling and Dunbu Choekeor.

The appeal, which is unemotional in tone, consists of a plain description of events over the previous month followed by a short request for assistance. The purpose of the appeal, it says, is to "inform the world" of the situation and to seek international intervention.

"We ask for support for our rights and for help to put an end to this situation, because we Tibetans have no human rights and are at risk of being exterminated", the appeal concludes. It adds that they "request urgent action from the United Nations".

Reports published last week about the protest in Sungrabling had said that the troops had arrived within a day of protests beginning, but the account by the villagers shows that troops were not sent to the village until nearly a month after protests began. The one month lapse gave officials time to identify leading dissidents, suggest the authors of the Kyimshi appeal.

#### Elections Boycotted

Protest was sparked off by elections for new leaders of the *xiang*, the lowest administrative level in the Chinese system. Such elections seem to be regarded as fixed in advance by the Chinese authorities, and four monks are said to have put up posters saying "We do not need a Chinese appointed leader; our leader is His Holiness the Dalai Lama," according to a separate report of the incident issued on 5th August by the exile Tibetan Government.

The rejection of the *xiang* level elections is highly significant, since the Chinese authorities appear to be aiming to replace *xiang*-level leaders - until now always Tibetans - by Chinese migrants or by specially trained Tibetan nominees, according to repeated reports that have been circulating in Tibet over the last 6 months. Previously the Chinese have sought to dominate appointments only at county level or above.

The move to reassert direct control of the lowest level of the administration is associated with plans to introduce Chinese settlers into rural areas of Tibet, according to some sources.

The monks' protest over the Kyimshi elections led to calls for independence. "On Saturday 29th May, on the day of the main meeting for the election of the leaders of the *xiang*, monks from Sungrabling started shouting 'Free Tibet', 'Tibetans are the Owners of Tibet', 'Long Live Free Tibet'," says the authors of the Kyimshi appeal, who do not give their names.

At least five monks from Sungrabling are already in prison in Lhasa serving prison sentences of between 2 and 5 years, apparently for taking part in demonstrations in 1989.

#### Sungrabling Road Blocks Stop Police

Local police seem to have been unprepared for the incident, although many anti-Chinese posters had been put up in the area during the previous month. "On the first day of the event the people of the village dominated the situation and they were even able to release some of the people who were arrested", says the account.

The local authorities made an attempt on 31st May to send an investigation team to Sungrabling monastery, but the officials were denied admission by the monks, who are said to have told them "Tibetans are the owners of Tibetans and we don't want Chinese to come and dirty our environment".

The next day, 1st June, 200 police in 12 trucks were sent to arrest the monks, but villagers - said to number 700 - barricaded the main road to prevent them reaching the monastery. While older villagers tried to plead with the police, the younger ones are described as singing the forbidden Tibetan national anthem and shouting slogans in praise of the Dalai Lama and calling for independence.

The authorities tried a more sophisticated strategy on 2nd June, when a *Ledun Tsokchung* or "Work Team" arrived at the monastery. Work Teams, consisting of un-uniformed Party cadres from other areas, are frequently used in Tibet to carry out emergency political re-education campaigns. They typically begin by offering to discuss local grievances, and then use education sessions to identify political dissidents.

#### Military Take Over

After four weeks the purpose of the Work Team's visit became clearer when troops were called to the village to conduct arrests. At 5pm on 28th June "57 trucks arrived with more than 1,700 soldiers who surrounded Kyimshi village", says the account, adding that the soldiers "handled the villagers very brutally".

The Kyimshi appeal names 3 monks, 2 nuns and 7 male farmers arrested by the troops, who allegedly threatened the detainees with guns. A week later, on 5th July, three more monks from Sungrabling and one farmer were arrested with "great brutality", according to the appeal.

"Later, with the arrival of the army, arrests took place night after night, with the village surrounded and each home guarded by three soldiers," says the Kyimshi account. Arrests were still continuing when the appeal was sent, but the authors were able only to identify one of these, Ngawang Donyo, a senior monk and former *turing* (*zhuren* in Chinese) or elected Leader of the monastery. His room had been searched and "a camera and other things found in his pillow", according to the account.

There were initial concerns that Ngawang Donyo had been injured or even killed during the arrest. He and the other prisoners were later said to have been moved to Gutsa prison in Lhasa.

#### Machine gun installations on mountain side

As of July 6th the troops appear to have been deployed around the village to take up combat positions with machine guns trained on the village, according to the account. "The Chinese have spread out the army and [have] laid down plans for war, with machine gun [*menpad bukbu*] installations ... On the mountain on the south side of the village they have set up posts with gun installations. They are also mobilising trucks in the region full of ammunition."

The report adds that the members of the Work Team, who are armed, are now working with the military "very intensively" carrying out investigations and house searches in both the village and the monastery.

"They are terrorising the population", say the authors of the account. "At present people in this village are in a state of turmoil, living under tension and terror."

On or about 30th May, at about the time protests broke out in Kyimshi, a further 18 people, all monks, were arrested from the monastery of Dunbu Choeikor, 4 km north of Kyimshi. Dunbu Choeikor, founded in the 15th Century, belongs to the Sakya school of Tibetan Buddhism, unlike Sungrabling which belongs to the later *Gelugpa* school. The cause and exact date of the Dunbu Choeikor arrests are not known.

#### Appeal to the UN from the villagers of Kyimshi

The original appeal was made in Tibet in late July and received in London in August. The authors of the appeal did not give their names but said they represented the villagers of the Kyimshi *xiang*, which is a cluster of villages in the Upper Chideshol Valley, in the Gongkar, Lhokha Prefecture. The appeal was addressed to the United Nations and to the international community. A copy was passed on to the UN's Special Rapporteur for States of Emergency at the UN Centre for Human Rights in Geneva. A *xiang* is a Chinese administrative term describing a township or group of villages. [TIN Ref: T1[YV]].

#### "Recent Struggles by the Inhabitants of Kyimshi *xiang* and Sungrabling Monastery against the Chinese"

The *xiang* of Kyimshi is situated in Upper Chideshol, Lhokha. These events really took place.

This appeal was written by the people of Kyimshi *xiang*.

It is their hope and their expectation that this will be distributed as many times as possible, because all the people in the village participated as a whole in this major demonstration and as a result people are undergoing severe treatment, imprisonment, and torture.

Since then the people of the villages have been waiting expectantly in the hope that one of these days the international media would talk about it.

#### Appeal:

Between April and the end of June 1993 to the south of Lhasa in Lhokha Prefecture, Gongkar county, the people of Kyimshi *xiang* have been shouting "Chinese Leave Tibet" and "Free Tibet"; more than 2,000 posters appeared everywhere.

On Saturday, 29th May, on the day of the main meeting for the election of the *xiang* leaders [go-tri], monks from Sungrabling shouted "Free Tibet", "Tibetans are the Owners of Tibet" and "Long Live Free Tibet".

Then on 31st May the *xiang* authorities went to begin investigations at Sungrabling monastery and the monks replied "Tibetans are the owners of Tibetans and we don't want Chinese to come and dirty our environment". They blocked their access and expelled them from the monastery.

This the Chinese found intolerable. So on 1st June 1993 twelve trucks arrived with more than 200 police to arrest the monks.

That day more than 700 people from the village barricaded the main road shouting, "You have no right to come and arrest Tibetans in their own land". While elders begged for indulgence the younger ones defied them, saying that we Tibetans don't want to continue under Chinese occupation.

"Tibet is a fully independent country", they said. Simultaneously the younger children and adolescents all sang the Tibetan national anthem together and shouted "May Gyalwo Tenzin Gyatso [the Dalai Lama] live for ever".

Then the Ledun Tsokchung [a "Work Team", a group of Communist Party officials trained to carry out "political re-education" and to identify dissidents] arrived at the monastery. They forcefully conducted investigations and searched the rooms in the monastery. The same process took place amongst the lay people [in the village(s)].

Then, at 5pm on 28th June, 57 trucks arrived with more than 1,700 soldiers. They surrounded Kyimshi *xiang* and handled the inhabitants very brutally. During this time they arrested Ngawang Lamchen, Tsultrim Topgyal (layname: Penpa), Yeshe Jinpa (Pema Samdrup), along with the two nuns Ngawang Choedron (Chimi Choedron) and Tenzin Choenyi (Wangden Choenyi) from Choedrup nunnery, as well as farmers Tsering, Ten-nup, Norbu, Nyima, Gyaltzen Norbu, Phurpu Namdron, and Sonam [a former Party member].

While they were being arrested they were terrorised and were very badly treated and teased with the sophisticated modern weapons with which the soldiers are armed.

Then on 5th July three Sungrabling monks were arrested; Tsultrim Gyaltzen (Buchung Dawa), Tsultrim Sherab (Penpa), Tsultrim Zoepa (Penpa). They were arrested very brutally. This is a total of 15 people\*.

Because of the demonstrations, which seem to have got out of control, by the people of Kyimshi village and the Sungrabling monks, with their calls, "Tibet is Independent", "Tibet is independent", and so on, the Chinese have been obliged to spread out the army and to lay out plans for war with machine gun [mendap bugbug] installations, terrorising the population.

So, through broadcasting news of this incident by the international media in order to inform the world, we ask support for our rights and to put an end to this situation, because we Tibetans have no human rights and are facing great risk of extermination. We also ask for urgent action to be taken by the United Nations.

Dated 6th July 1993.

We ask for this to be broadcast as many times as possible by the international media.

Later more people were arrested, amongst whom one we know is Ngawang Donyo, a former "turen" [leader] of Sungrabling Monastery. He was arrested and at present we hear that he is dead - but there is no confirmation of this. During the search of his house a camera and other things were found in his pillow. We have also heard that he is [alive] and in Gutsa [detention centre in Lhasa] with the other detainees.

On the first day of these events the people of the village dominated the situation and they were even able to liberate some of the people who had been arrested. Later, with the arrival of the army, arrests took place night after night, and the village has been surrounded, with each home guarded by three soldiers. Nowadays under the supervision of the army the Ledun Tsokchung, who are also armed, are doing their work very intensively.

On the mountain on the south of the village they have set up posts with gun installations. They are also mobilising trucks in their region full of ammunition.

At present people in this village are in a state of turmoil, living under tension and terror. As this is still happening they make this urgent request to broadcast the information soon and many times.

\*Note: Two other names were included in a separate document, giving a total of 17 from Kyimshi. A further 18 names were provided with the appeal identifying monks arrested from Dunbu Choekor monastery in Chideshol, 4 kilometres north of Kyimshi, on or about

30th May. The circumstances of the arrests at Dunbu Choekor were not clear but appear to be related to political protests.

### 35 Political Arrests from the Chideshol Valley: from Kyimshi, Sungrabling, Choekor Bup and Dunbu Choekor: 30th May-5th July 1993

Arrested c.30th May:

Sonam Choephel, 12	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Jampel Dorje, 15	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Phurbu Tashi, 15	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Lobsang, 22	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Tashi Chungchung 17	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Tsering Donden, 26	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Chime, 25	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Migmar Tsering, 20	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Lhakpa Tsering, 20	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Migmar, 17	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Dradul, 23	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Pasang, 24	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Penpa, 19	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Choephel, 20	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Dorje, 15	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Norzing, 15	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Thapkhie 17*	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor
Migmar (senior), 27	M	(Lhokha Chideshol)	monk at Dunbu Choekor

Arrested on 28th June for an incident on or around 30th May:

Yeshe Jinpa, 20	M	layname Pema Samdrup, monk Sungrabling, Lhokha Gongkar
Tsutrim Topgyal, 20	M	layname Penpa, monk Sungrabling, Lhokha Gongkar
Ngawang Lamchen 23	M	layname Shilok, monk Sungrabling, Lhokha Gongkar
Tsering, 23	M	monk at Lhodrak monastery
Ngawang Choedron	F	layname Chine Choedron, nun Choebup Nunnery, Drongshur village, Chideshol
Tenzin Choekyi	F	layname Wangden Choekyi, nun Choebup Nunnery, Drongshur village, Chideshol
Phurbu Namdron	M	also called Phurbu Gyen (brother of Buchung Dawa), from Lhokha Gongkar Kyimshi (Upper Chideshol) farmer
Sonam	M	Lhokha Gongkar Kyimshi (Upper Chideshol) farmer
Gyaltsen Norbu	M	Lhokha Gongkar Kyimshi (Upper Chideshol) farmer
Norbu	M	Lhokha Gongkar Kyimshi (Upper Chideshol) farmer
Nyima	M	(brother of Pendor), Lhokha Gongkar Kyimshi (Upper Chideshol) farmer
Tserig	M	Lhokha Gongkar Kyimshi (Upper Chideshol) farmer

Arrested 5 July:

Tsutrim Gyaltsen, 23	M	layname Buchung Dawa, monk at Sungrabling, Lhokha Gongkar
Tsutrim Zopa, 23	M	layname Penpa, monk at Sungrabling, Lhokha Gongkar
Tsutrim Sherab(?) 19	M	layname Pempa or Pendor, monk at Sungrabling, Lhokha Gongkar
Dawa Tsering	M	(also called Tennu?), from Lhokha Gongkar Kyimshi (Upper Chideshol) farmer

Arrested after 5th July:

Ngawang Donyo	M	Monk, former leader, at Sungrabling
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Previous Sungrabling arrests, 1989: still in custody:

Yeshe Ngawang, 26	M	Lhokha Gongkar	monk at Sungrabling	5 yrs
Yeshe Dradul, 25	M	Lhokha Gongkar	monk at Sungrabling	6 yrs
Yeshe Tsering, 26	M	Lhokha Gongkar	monk at Sungrabling	4 yrs
Sonam Topjor, 23	M	Lhokha Gongkar	monk at Sungrabling	7(3 + 4)
Yeshe Paljor, 23	M	Lhokha Gongkar	monk at Sungrabling	5 yrs

### August Protests: Yoghurt Festival

TIN News Update / 12 September, 1993 extract

More details have emerged about three small protest incidents which took place in mid-August, one of them during the festival celebrations.

In Lhasa four women, including a 16 year old girl, were arrested in the Barkor, in the centre of the Tibetan quarter of the town, at around 6pm on 17th August after they ran around the Jokhang, the main temple in Tibet. A western tourist who saw the incident said it lasted only a few minutes before the women, who were shouting pro-independence slogans, were taken away in police vehicles. He said he had been told but could not confirm that the women had been beaten after arrest.

The names of the arrested women, all nuns, are now known to be: Tsamchoe, age 19, Champa Drolkar, age 21, Pema Oeser, age 16, and Dakar, age 20. All four women are nuns from Nagar [rna dkar] Nunnery in Cheggar [byas dgar]

township (Chinese: *xiang*), Phenpo Lhundrup county, about 45 km north of Lhasa. This is believed to be the first time that women from this nunnery have staged a pro-independence protest.

In Damshung, a rural town 300 km north of Lhasa, pro-independence leaflets were distributed during the annual mid-August horse races, according to one report.

### Shoton Festival Protest

In Lhasa there was at least one attempt to disrupt the Shoton Festival during the first day of the operas on 18th August. "Four monks aged about 20 walked through the Kelsang Phodrang, one of the former palaces in the Norbulingka park, carrying Tibetan flags and shouting 'Chinese go home' and 'Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama'," a Tibetan who witnessed the incident told TIN.



"The Chinese police then arrived, but I saw the four monks disappear into the large crowd that had gathered there, and they all escaped," said the

Tibetan, who asked not to be named. At least two of the monks, who were said to be from Gyama Gang in the east of Lhasa, were arrested elsewhere in the park, according to other reports.

Earlier on the same day, at about 8am, two other monks are said to have been arrested outside the Holiday Inn Hotel,

which is on the road leading to the Norbulingka park. The reasons for the arrests, which are unconfirmed, are unknown.

This is the third time in five years that there have been protests in the Norbulingka during the *Shoton* festival. Eleven of the 15 nuns who interrupted the operas in the Norbulingka on 21st August 1990 are still in Lhasa's Drapchi prison.

## Accounts of Lhasa Demonstrations, May 1993

### **Official Account: Tibet Mayor's View**

Lobsang Dondrup ("Luosang Dunzhu" in Chinese), the Mayor of Lhasa, gave an unusually revealing account of the May protests in an interview published by the pro-Chinese magazine *Wen Wei Po* (Hong Kong) on August 18th 1993. It was translated and published by the BBC Monitoring Service (SWB) on August 20th 1993.

*The Xuedun [Shoton] Festival, an age-old and large-scale traditional festival in Tibet, is being celebrated. Peasants, herders, monks and priests will come to Lhasa from all directions. Is it possible that disturbances will occur in the capital of Tibet as happened during the last 10 days of May? With this question, this reporter had a special interview with Mr Luosang Dunzhu, Mayor of Lhasa.*

*Luosang Dunzhu, former commissioner of Shannan (Lhokha) Prefecture, is full of confidence in administering this city, which attracts worldwide attention, though he has been mayor of the city for less than a year. He said: Lhasa's situation has become more stable as the disturbances in the last 10 days of May were properly resolved. The masses are now clearer about who is right and who is wrong. We have won over more masses, and the small number of separatists have become more isolated. Truth of the May Disturbances.*

*The mayor of Lhasa said: On 24th May, the Voice of America said we had arrested a certain number of people and killed a certain number of people. That was indeed exaggerated propaganda with ulterior motives! Then he briefed us on the truth of the incident: With the prices going up in China, Lhasa also readjusted its commodity prices. But as there had not been sufficient propaganda beforehand, some people could not understand why the prices had gone up and felt the situation difficult to cope with. They had certain complaints about the price increase. Then the separatists seized that opportunity to stir up troubles from behind the scenes. As a result, some masses joined the demonstration on 24th May. Most of them were ordinary masses and the number of participants increased from the original 100 or 200 to more than 1,000. They were presenting a petition to the government, with a slogan demanding lower prices and lower taxes.*

*The mayor pointed out: The demonstration was for different purposes among the people. The great majority of participants did not have any political purpose. They participated in the demonstration only because they could not follow the change from a long-term planned economy to a spiritual civilisation market economy. That is why, even when the masses were surrounding the building of the regional government, we only sent city leaders and relevant cadres to explain to them and advise them to leave. If they still had any complaints, they could speak out at a forum held the following day.*

*Luosang Dunzhu continued: Most demonstrators took the advice and left. But as there were separatists lurking in the procession, when there were still more than 100 people in the demonstration, some began to indulge in beating, smashing and looting. They smashed the window panes and boards of the city government, attacked the regional public security department, and injured government personnel and seven armed police officers.*

*Luosang Dunzhu said seriously: By so doing, they went beyond the range of a petition and violated the law. Then he extended the subject and said: "Now some people are saying that we do not respect human rights. In my opinion, human rights is something within a certain range. There cannot be the human rights beyond the range of laws.*

*Towards those who are carrying out separatist activities and who have violated the interests of the great majority of people, our attitude is that they should be dealt with in the way they deserve and in accordance with the law."*

*The mayor of Lhasa admitted that in the face of their beating, smashing and looting activities, the armed police had fired tear-gas shells. But he told the reporters that on that day, no one was arrested and no one was killed. Only a child was injured amid the chaotic crowds.*

### **No One Died During the Disturbances**

*On 25th May, the city government promised to hold a forum with 56 mass representatives. The mayor answered all the questions raised by the participants and told the citizens that as there was a law on parades to abide by, any unauthorised parades were considered to be illegal. In view of the fact that the legal concept of the masses was still rather weak at the moment, no one would be investigated or punished this time. At the forum, the mass representatives who had joined the demonstration also admitted that the problems could not be resolved merely by holding demonstrations. They could not be resolved unless the government took proper measures. They also admitted that some bad people had lurked among the contingents of demonstrators. Some had thrown stones and some had tried to lead the demonstrators to Bargar Street....* [ellipsis as published]

*But from 0900 to 1200, while the forum was being held between the government and the mass representatives, some people continued to go from door to door to instigate the masses to hold demonstrations again. More than 100 people participated in the 25th May demonstration in Lhasa. The mayor said: The public security department then detained and interrogated the man who was holding a banner and another person.*

### **Prices Subsidised by the City Government**

*The reporter then inquired about Lhasa's price situation. Mayor Luosang Dunzhu said: In April of this year, Lhasa's commodity prices rose by 9.17%. But in the same month, commodity prices in other parts of the country rose by 17%. The prices of the "two oils" - fuel and edible butter, which are most closely related to people's life, had both gone up. Butter price rose from 8 or 9 yuan per kg to 11 or 12 yuan per kg, and gasoline prices had also risen. But the government absorbed 70% of the absolute value of price growth, while the residents only absorbed 30%, that is, 0.3 yuan per kg. On this alone, the Lhasa City Government had to provide a subsidy of 6m yuan a month.*

*The mayor said emotionally: As a result of developing the market economy, the oil price of the hinterland is going up. If Lhasa's oil price is not readjusted, oil will no longer flow into this city. He continued: The control over Lhasa's grain price has not been relaxed even to this day. For each jin of grain transported from the hinterland, the government has to provide a subsidy of 0.6 yuan, and for each jin of tsampa roasted barley-flour - a Tibetan staple, the government has to subsidise 0.3 yuan. Even for each jin of wheat flour produced in Lhasa, the government has to subsidise 0.1 yuan. At the same time, the government has given explicit orders that all charges without the approval of the city and regional authorities belong to the category of arbitrary collection of charges and arbitrary financial apportionments and should be returned.*

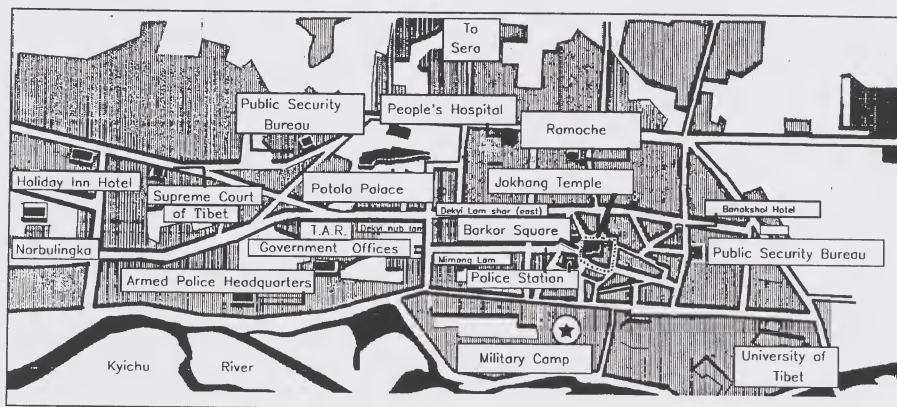
*In conclusion, the mayor of Lhasa told the reporter: Over the past 40 years or so, the state has monopolised material supply in Tibet. Now the policy has been gradually changed. The masses do not quite understand it. Demonstration is a "bad thing". But after clearly explaining it to the masses, the*

*"bad thing" is turned into a "good thing", because the masses are able to make a clear distinction between right and wrong. That is why we say that Lhasa's situation has become more stable and the situation is better than before.*

## Lhasa

Diagram showing main streets of the Tibetan quarter of Lhasa. The Barkor (middle circuit) runs clockwise around the Jokhang Temple (marked with a dotted line).

North



## Eyewitness Account 1: Tibetan View

A Tibetan describes his view of the events of the days following the 23rd May anniversary, and the causes that led people to join the protests [TIN Ref: T1(YPI)]

*I would like to tell you about the recent events in Tibet and the activities undertaken by Tibetans in Tibet, as they really happened and as many people saw them.*

*On 23 May, 1993, the day which commemorates the signing of the 17 Point Agreement in 1959, Tibetans left aside all their regular activities, and made a statement to the Chinese government and the world by keeping their shops closed in the Tibetan sector of Lhasa around the Barkor.*

*Before that there had been the visit of the E.C. delegation, during which we Tibetans wanted to express our desire to live no longer under Chinese occupation. But as it was difficult to organise and lead anything, we were not able to do much. So they left us feeling desperate. That we didn't succeed was due to the extensive preparations for their visit, notably the widespread use of security agents to prevent contact with Tibetans wherever the delegates went. There were up to 1,000 agents for the delegates, either moving around or stationed in plain clothes at a fixed post. I recognised some of the regular police agents in nomad's sheepskin coats sitting in a corner around the Barkor pretending to read prayer books.*

## 24th May 1993

*We Tibetans managed to organise a very big demonstration disguised as an economic protest. We have had to resort to these indirect methods of expression because to have called for Tibetan independence would have led to immediate arrest and violent suppression from the Chinese. The demonstration took place with our fists raised. There were green and white banners, on which were written calls for the reduction of prices, the continuation of free medical policy, free schooling, and so on. The recent price rises have severely affected life in every Tibetan family wherever they live. This has united Tibetans from all levels and regions into one voice and one action. The Chinese again tried to blame a few unemployed groups, but this was the first time that there was a movement, which cadres and officials, of course with very few exceptions, openly joined.*

*By 6.30 pm, despite the intricate network of security agents [positioned] everywhere in Lhasa in variously forms of disguise, the Tibetans' demonstration had swelled through spontaneous participations from every small alley and main street. VOA announced a figure of 2,000 but it was really much more than that. You could see the procession of demonstrators forming an endless chain right from the TAR government building up to the shops in front of the Jokhang Square. The few Tibetans who were in their shops quickly closed down, giving some excuse or other. The cries of dissatisfaction and desire to no longer continue under*

Chinese occupation were unanimously expressed. Some openly called out for Tibetan independence.

As there was no reaction from the TAR government building, one group went in the direction of the Holiday Inn, with the objective of attracting the attention of international eyewitnesses. Another group headed in the direction of other official government institutions, shouting out economic slogans.

Towards 6.30 pm the security force started firing teargas guns, leading to one child losing an eye, followed by many serious physical injuries among children and young people. Some say that they started firing because of the pro-independence slogans. But it was clear that the main reason was because the crowds and the processions kept growing and the movement seemed endless.

When the demonstrators were sitting and waiting in front of the TAR Government Administration building a number of Tibetan rickshaws passed by. If the rickshaw was carrying someone Chinese, the driver was booed with cries of 'shame, shame' by the on-looking demonstrators. If the passengers were Tibetans or visitors from abroad then they were applauded.

These were the different forms of expressions used to give vent to the deep aversion of the Tibetan people to Chinese domination, and to express their wish for liberation.

Demonstrators were prevented from entering the TAR Government Office gate by security agents who were filming us. In the afternoon when I arrived there it made an impressive sight. It was like preparations for a war, with the whole compound full of military, fully armed with sophisticated weapons, [some of them] carrying a chichang [machine gun] on each side of their body.

Since that day, military trucks filled with soldiers and armed police, and security forces have started patrolling the streets of Lhasa city. Many of the normally discreet trucks used for transporting prisoners could be seen [in the streets] with their sirens blowing.

On that same day, from the north of Rangzen Lam, 7 nuns demonstrated with calls for independence in front of Gyume monastery, moving straight towards the Chengguanchu [the City Administration] offices in the presence of many youngsters who were standing around. These 7 nuns were immediately arrested in front of all those present.

2 young adolescents were arrested at the same time. I saw this.

Besides this, we heard from many sources that there had been many arrests of people who had not participated at all in the demonstrations that day.

#### **Firing of teargas guns.**

The teargas was fired in an extremely excessive manner. The canisters were fired at everyone in the crowd whether they were demonstrators or not. They deliberately let the teargas go off in front of the main entrances of the houses and courtyards, in every street, big or small, so that the whole atmosphere was filled with teargas. Eyes were burning so much that it was impossible for anyone to leave their houses even to continue normal daily activities.

Thus they succeeded in dispersing the crowd and stopping our demonstration.

#### **Next day [25th May] - 10.30 am**

The demonstration started from the direction of Tsomoling [some sources say at about 12.30], and it began to grow as the crowd advanced towards the Tromsigang [market]. Just at that moment teargas firing started again, the sound

of which was paralysing, and the crowd was again obliged to disperse because of the gas. This brought an immediate end to the demonstration.

Even on the day of the big demonstration the sound of gunfire could be heard everywhere. It's difficult to know where they were firing; maybe they were shooting into the air.

That day, people had decided to organise a very big demonstration for the following day. This included Tibetans from all levels: cadres, administrators, traders, nomads and farmers, with a few exceptions. This again failed because once more the Chinese had imposed orders strictly forbidding people from official departments and institutions to leave their compounds.

So from 23rd to 28th May we were unable to stage impressive demonstrations, but the mood of protest reigned very strongly among the Tibetans. All the shops were closed in the city except for a few illegal small temporary stalls. Despite the wish in our minds to do something we had to stop there because to carry on would have been provoking a massacre.

#### **26th-27th May 1993**

The University of the TAR was preparing a student demonstration, which was to be led by the students of Tibetan higher studies department of the University. When the information had reached the authorities, they immediately took preventive measures by organising classes on the Sunday (30th May), and then locking in all the staff and students. Instead of the demonstration they had planned they had to attend a political meeting in the afternoon, during which the school authorities announced the '3 Forbidden':

- forbidden to go out and join or participate in any demonstration.

- forbidden to be an onlooker during any demonstration.

- forbidden to get involved in any discussion related to such demonstrations, or even to take an interest in such things.

They would deal with anybody not observing these orders by expelling them immediately from the school.

For the majority of the students expulsion would mean an irrecoverable loss for themselves as well as a blow to their desire to serve the Tibetan people. The idea of being expelled at this stage, just a few months or a year before graduation, seemed a premature sacrifice when they could still contribute in many ways as graduates. This is what happened with the TAR University students' attempt.

#### **1st June 1993.**

As I was crossing the Barkor, 3 Drepung monks stepped forward shouting 'Free Tibet'. They had taken only a few steps when they were violently arrested by the security agents. This was followed by 2 young girls shouting at the agents, 'Don't you see that these are humans? What are you planning to do, eat them or what?' The agents then arrested the 2 girls at the same time.

On the same evening 8 people, including both religious and lay people, were seen being arrested along Rangzen Lam right in front of Tsomoling. This makes a total of 13 arrested that day.

#### **2nd June 1993**

A demonstration of about 40 people carrying the Tibetan national flag came from the Lhasa Cement Factory, coming from the direction of the Norbulingka. The group had hardly got through the gate of the compound when they were



immediately showered upon with teargas, which stopped them. We were informed of this.

The Cement factory workers, who had gathered to demonstrate for workers' rights to a proper salary and who were also [shouting?] anti-Chinese slogans, were immediately clamped down on before they could even leave their compound.

On the same day in the three areas of Phu, Toe and Bhar (Upper, Middle and Lower) Chideshol in Lhakha [Southern Tibet] pro-independence posters were scattered everywhere. Even on the main road they had put up Tibetan national flags.

#### 4th June

5 monks and 2 nuns were seen being arrested in the Barkor. People say they are from Toelung and Nethang. Under such circumstances it is impossible to find out the details. No one around seems to know anything about them, so we should insist on an investigation.

#### 6th June

On 6th June 1993 (Sunday), 4 monks (one in civilian clothes) staged a demonstration for Tibetan independence and were immediately arrested. At that moment a 16 year old girl spat at the police and shouted "Do you intend to eat them? They are human beings". She was arrested with the others. She is the adopted child of a family living next to the Barkor Police Station who own a small shop along the same row of shops.

#### 8th-9th June onwards

A meeting took place in all the neighbourhoods (Dronglen) of the city during which it was announced that:

- the recent demonstration was an unlawful act. In future, participants would be fined severely for breaking the law.
- people must watch each other in their respective sectors closely, because there will be strong repercussions on any work units or departments to which a participant in a demonstration belongs.
- people in the towns cannot have visitors who are not registered.
- the demonstration did not offer any answer to the problem of inflation because it purely an act carried out by the splittists. Inflation is the normal trend in the economic development of the country. So nobody can do anything about it. Besides, the prices will continue to rise from July 1993 onwards.

#### Arrests

Some arrests, which took place before the demonstrations, now known to everybody:

- 8th May at 2am: **Tseten Dorje** from TAR Religious Affairs Committee.
- 11th May: **Lobsang Yonten**, a school master running a private school on Ramoche Lam.
- 14th May: **Gendun Rinchen** was arrested; then they searched his house.
- 20th May: Acha [Sister, woman] **Damchoe Pemo**, who comes from the same area, was arrested.

According to police sources, in all they arrested 18 pro-independence demonstrators since 24th May, but since Tibetan New Year of this year (February 22nd 1993) there have been more than 100 arrests of political prisoners. We

have not been able to get all the information or details of these prisoners. We have only heard or seen all the names and arrests listed here. Most of the arrested nuns and monks are from Garu Gumpa, Toelung Dechen county, Nethang, Phenpo, Ramoche, Drepung, Ganden and Tsepa Lhakhang [Tsepaling]

The recent demonstration was staged by Tibetans from all social levels and regions, expressing clearly their desire to be liberated from Chinese domination.

#### Protest: "Martyrdom is Not Enough"

All government departments, institutions and factories and so on were kept under tight control [after 24th May] - that is, all comings and goings were forbidden and Government staff and workers had to go to work, irrespective of whether it was a working day or not. All movement within schools, hospitals, factories, official departments and sectors of the city was under complete control.

At the same time, in all those places and institutions, they increased the presence of plainclothes and uniformed security agents of all kinds.

Thus, except for the demonstration on the first day, the Tibetans were not able to express their suffering and pain. So again we continue to live with our wounds and sufferings, both the old ones and new ones. Each time our nuns and monks demonstrate, we all wish to support them, but before we can even reach them they are already arrested and carried away.

There remains no chance for us to express anything.

Beside, for some, who know the Chinese reaction against such activities, even the very idea of demonstrating is terrifying. As a result to demonstrate today is just a sacrifice or a waste of a life, because the chances of obtaining one's rights or of contributing to future developments through this means is nil. Many abstain from such activity because of their obligations towards their children, their parents and to future generations. It is becoming a known fact for us that just to make a martyr of oneself by demonstrating is not enough to achieve the aims of our cause. Unless we continue to live, to prove our just claim for Tibetan independence to the people of the world, like the black people in the world have done in their struggle, the Chinese will continue to ignore us, no matter in what ways we try express our claims and rights.

#### Reasons for Protest

The recent independence demonstrations took place under the disguise of economic protests with slogans against price rises, taxation, and so on, because this was the only possible way left for us to express and to show that Tibetans want full independence from China and that they don't want to continue under Chinese domination. The Chinese themselves also got this message and considered it to be a "separatist act" carried out under the cover of economic discontent.

We Tibetans do not regard our claims as an act of separatism, because you cannot separate something which has always been distinct and separate. We are claiming the rights of the Tibetan people in their own land, for the sake of our future generations, so that they will be able to be developed and to be self-sufficient. It is so we can preserve our identity and the survival of our identity through the promotion of our traditional culture, religion and history. This the Chinese do not recognise at all and glibly consider our demands to be an act of separatism, leaving us no chance to express our rights. On the contrary, they dare to announce to the world that the policy of liberalisation means that the Tibetans enjoy human rights and so on. In reality, from the monasteries downwards, everywhere there is nothing but 'Not authorised, not permitted, not allowed,

forbidden'. Permitted rights which are in the interests of Tibetans are very rare.

Some of the important Tibetan dignitaries with titles and some Lamas are being manipulated by the Chinese by indirect bribery. This causes disunity and instability among the Tibetans. Despite all the claims of the Chinese that the Tibetans enjoy human rights and that they have done a lot in the interests of progress and prosperity, in reality what the Tibetans are experiencing is:

- constant insecurity and uncertainty with regard to their livelihood, their life and their future;

- living even in your own home as if you were hunted animals rather than one enjoying life as a decent human being;

- just managing to live from day to day. Some Tibetans still try to make an effort by economising on what they have so that they can pursue future careers and studies. But this is again discouraged by the invasion of all our big and small cities and towns by countless numbers of karaoke bars and discos owned by the Chinese. These attract all our young people, induce them into drinking and smoking and draw them away from the realities of life. The Chinese take no action to control all of these.

#### **Price Increases**

They say that price rises are for the sake of economic development of the country and that it is a normal trend. But this cannot be applicable to Tibet, even if it is a policy adopted for the whole nation, because Tibet does not have any industries and special products that it can sell directly. All our minerals and natural raw materials are exploited by the Chinese and transported directly to China, without any access for the Tibetans to this trade. Our agricultural and livestock products bring only limited income. Without any reasonable daily income how are we expected to face price rises? The Chinese feel that they are respecting the Tibetans' problems by increasing the salaries of officials, but they represent only a small minority of the Tibetan population.

This rapid inflation aggravates the poverty among the Tibetans leading to a related loss of moral values and ethics, leading to delinquency, theft, aggression and prostitution.

What the Chinese did not succeed in destroying with all these years of violence and suppression, they are now trying to achieve today by resorting to tempting people and by appealing to material needs.

Just 20% of the cadres and officials in the TAR [level] administration are Tibetan. Therefore increasing the salaries of these officials does not solve the financial problem of the Tibetans. The increased salary of one official is not enough to meet the needs of the remaining members of their family who they are responsible for. This shows that the policy the Chinese are trying to impose in Tibet does not make any sense for the Tibetans. What they say has no foundation.

Tibetan is gradually becoming a dead language, unused or unrecognised, limited to the monasteries and common people. It is used for display on sign posts for shops, maybe because it is helpful for some villagers.

Let me give a small example: look at all the forms of private transport. Compared to the brand new buses and minibuses owned by the Chinese, all that Tibetans can afford are dilapidated second-hand trucks and minibuses. For Tibetans to own such standard transport, several well-to-do Tibetan families would have to pool their resources - and that's if they don't consider the high tax payments. But if they consider the amount needed for tax, they realise that their resources would serve only just to paying the taxes. As such, they don't even attempt to take the risk. Only the Chinese could afford such high taxes, but not Tibetans.

Tibetans' basic economic resources can't even enable them to occupy a decent shop, because they can't maintain a continuous supply of interesting items. We Tibetans have no backing, no protection - in effect no insurance - for taking the risk necessary to make of long-term profit.

#### **Aftermath**

After the demonstrations of 23-25th May, the participants arrested were interrogated rigorously. Then agents watched and followed the suspects, and at night, at around 2 or 3 in the morning, police and security agents broke into the houses like burglars, arresting one demonstrator after another.

At such a time we face the dilemma of not being able to find a place safe enough to hide all our precious cassettes, videos and documents which have photographs and speeches of His Holiness. Once you arrested with these things it means you have no chance to explain anything. You are finished. And you leave your home with one feeling - that it's the end of your present life. Because we all know and have seen all those released from prison who either died after a few days or who survived but continue to live in poor physical and mental health, or are reduced to dependency, physically handicapped or completely paralysed, totally dependant for their livelihood. To say that the prisoners are well treated would be an insult to the truth.

However, despite all the hardship that we are facing to obtain our rights, our will to liberate ourselves remains undiminished, and this spirit of awareness is spreading fast in the rural areas. With today's inflation, the high cost of living and the influx of Chinese, they cry out that they are literally being swallowed up by the Chinese. Any visitor to the regions of Kongo and Amdo can see that they are fully occupied by the Chinese.

The reason is that so far all the positions of power up to the county level are held by Chinese cadres. But below that, at the level of the township [xiang] administration, posts are still in the hands of the Tibetans. This was not done out of good will, but because communication problems meant that they could not manage anything else. Now this level of posts is to be filled in the next ten years by the Chinese being trained specifically for this purpose now.

The majority of the participants in the demonstration were young - below 30 years old, with a few in their forties. Those exposing themselves to risks at the front of the march like madmen were mostly teenagers and adolescents. All our peaceful demonstrations, in which we are not even armed with a penknife, get crushed in the violence of teargas or other forms of repression. That's the response we get each time we express our rights.

Cadres and officials and all government institutions are closely watched by agents and informers specially deputed for that job. Individual agents are posted to suspected people to follow their movements. Such is our condition. At any time a search may be carried out. At times of hardship and terror like this, which seem interminable, tears are the means with which we are left to console ourselves.

During [a previous demonstration?] Tibetans who had gathered in front of the TAR Government building were shouting out that in old primitive barbarian Tibet it was possible to express grievances and it was possible to get a hearing. Neither of these exist today. Today the primitive barbarians of yesterday have become the Chinese, they said. This complaint of the Tibetans was repeated to the Central authorities by Rakti, the Chairman [of the TAR branch of the People's Congress] and by Gyalsen Norbu [Chairman of the TAR Government]. The Central Government's reaction to this was to say that it would be in the first place an error to tolerate any separatist activity or demonstrations. Therefore,

they said, any attempt in this direction must be suppressed by any means, even if it means resorting to force.

This means that if we want to achieve something more effective in the big freedom protests we all have to sacrifice ourselves through suicidal demonstrations. Even then, the chances of achieving anything are very small. We will already be surrounded by police, security agents and plain clothes agents coming at us from all sides before we can take a few steps together.

Some say sooner or later I will be taken. Until then, I still have time to get rid of some of the running dogs of the Chinese. This would be against the wishes of His Holiness and the nature of our struggle. The force of compassion overcomes our momentarily weakness and gives us strength to endure the long struggle: until this day we have continued to follow the method advised by His Holiness.

Often we think that if we obtain nothing from all this long struggle and terror, then why should we not use violence? After all some people only understand this language.

If the current situation of crisis and insecurity continues for long, our society will soon end up slipping into some kind of anarchy, with civil disorder, irresponsibility, instability, divorce and separations of family couples, disputes and disunity in work units, regional discontent and so on. Under such circumstances it's miraculous how the Tibetans have succeeded to remain united. Here, it is our cause and our struggle to exist as Tibetans that makes us stand up together.

Everybody on this earth desires to be prosperous and to enjoy the rights of a decent human being. So this is our deepest desire. Therefore, we call to you to give us active support, that is, not for violence, but to stand behind our just cause and our claim for truth. For us to have the possibility of dialogue and the right to express our demands on equal grounds, man to man. This is what we've always asked for, and shall continue to do so.

The cry of discontent coming from the Tibetan people is not just limited to Lhasa city. It's now coming from all prefectures and remote villages, in opposition to the indirect imposition of medical fees, school fees, price rises etc. Those unable to afford advance medical fees are destined to die in emergency cases. Despite the profound wishes of the parents to have proper access to schools and proper teaching for their children's education, what awaits them in the future is illiteracy. We can't do extra jobs to supplement our income without being tricked or exploited. Thus they use every available way to reduce us to this state.

To those aware of our cause, our suffering is not something invented or imagined by us. Therefore we thank you for your attention in support of our cause.

**Eyewitness Account 2: Tourist's Chronology of the ten days from 23rd May.**

A compilation report by an American student who was in Lhasa during this period.

**Sunday, May 23:** Anniversary of the 1951 "17 Point Agreement". There had been rumours that there would be a demonstration today. At 4:30 pm when I was in a restaurant at the Barkor I saw people running past and screaming, but there was no sign of any demonstration. At the Jokhang I was told later that people had started to protest, but had then dispersed.

**Monday, May 24:** There were rumours that there would be a demonstration at 10:00 am. At the Jokhang, all was quiet. Later I heard that the protest had started at the government buildings on the other side of the town.

**12:30 pm:** The demonstration moved from the Jokhang/Barkor area towards the police box [on Dekyi Lam?]. There were approximately 150 people, and two banners, one in Chinese, one in Tibetan [actually there were three: two were in Chinese. As the crowd moved past, westerners took pictures. Two Tibetan Public Security Bureau [PSB] officers grabbed the two westerners. One roll of exposed film was confiscated. The protest moved east along Dekyi Shar Lam [Chinese: Beijing Donglu] and made a loop on the Barkor, cutting in at the Mosque. From the west side of the Barkor the group walked towards the Potala on Mimang Lam [Chinese: Renmin Lu]. When they reached the Offices of the Government of Tibet, the demonstrators turned north and then onto Dekyi Shar Lam again, [this time heading] west. They continued past the front of the Potala. At this time, two armoured trucks and one other truck carrying armed soldiers passed the Post Office on Dekyi Shar Lam, but turned south, the direction the demonstrators had just come from. After the demonstration passed the Potala it continued along Dekyi Nub Lam [away from the city centre].

At the corner of Chiling Lam the demonstration was met by 200-300 soldiers in riot gear, some of them with guns. After the protest passed there, there appeared to be a charge by soldiers [in front of] the People's High Court of Tibet, but when the protest came around the corner where the Holiday Inn is, it seemed that the protest had not in fact been attacked from behind.

The protesters stood in front of the hotel while foreigners took videos and pictures. Then they proceeded across the street to the People's Congress of Tibet, where for a brief moment they all sat in the road. They then stood up and continued back down Dekyi Nub Lam to the east [returning towards the city centre]. At Chiling Lam they went north and were met by at least 700 others, mostly women. They continued to demonstrate around the Lingkor [outer circuit, going round the Potala] and then around the Barkor.

It was at the Barkor, when the chants of "Things are expensive" turned to slogans that called for independence, that the military immediately started firing teargas canisters into the crowd. The crowd dispersed and the teargas stopped.

It is not clear as to how many people were arrested, although there were an estimated 12 to 15 westerners detained, four of whom were forced to write self-criticisms and were then expelled. It was also reported that one Tibetan man was shot in the leg, although it is not clear if it was a bullet or [shrapnel from] a teargas canister.

That night all the westerners were locked in their hotels and PSB agents watched the movements of all the westerners.

A week-long strike was declared by the Tibetans. TAR officials convened to discuss whether the demonstrations were political or economic in nature.

**Tuesday, May 25:** Westerners were still made to stay in their hotels. At about 12 noon, a rally of protesters' chants were heard and within seconds teargas was being lobbed into the crowd. Today's firing was much louder, vibrating the windows and causing difficulty in hearing anything for a few seconds after each shot. At one point, five soldiers in gas masks were seen running towards the Barkor Square as Tibetans ran from it. Reports that this gas was not teargas were heard, but unconfirmed.

After each protest the truck [which is kept outside the police station in the Barkor square and which is used for transporting arrested demonstrators] came rushing back into the square.

**Wednesday, May 26:** Not much. Strike continued.



**Thursday, May 27:** Three monks from Sera are arrested for shouting slogans calling for independence.

**Tuesday, June 1:** Four monks and two women went one and a half times around the Barkor shouting "Free Tibet". They were severely beaten and arrested.

**Friday, June 4:** There seemed to be 50-60 police in riot gear in the police station on the Barkor at all times. Three separate groups in which there were one monk, six teenagers and three Tibetan flags ran from the Barkor Square into the Barkor in a similar fashion to the Sera monks. Once the first group was jumped on, a second took off, then a third sole flag-bearer, when the second was apprehended. One British witness said that all were arrested and beaten severely before being taken away in the truck. He also said that there were two police for each protester and that the crowd scattered initially, but he said many were crying when they saw the demonstrators being beaten.

**Sunday, June 6, 2 pm:** Three monks have been arrested at the Barkor with a banner and "Free Tibet" chants. It's unclear as to how they were treated or where they are from.

#### **Eyewitness Account 3: 24th May - A Tourist's View**

Two European tourists, a lawyer and a journalist named here as "G" and "T", told a TIN interviewer their view of the events of 24th May. They saw the early part of the demonstration when a group marched to the gates of the Government offices. Later in the afternoon they watched events from the hotel. This account has been summarised by the interviewer. [Summary of TIN interviews, ref. 93may-wt2, 28th May, 1993]

On Monday morning at around 9am or 9:30am, G and T were going by vehicle from the Holiday Inn eastwards towards the centre of town. They passed a group of women sitting in a circle near the entrance of the TAR Government Office compound. There were between 20 and 30 women sitting in a group. They were a cross-section of ages and were mostly dressed in Tibetan chubas. They were sitting quietly and were not singing or chanting. No banners or flags were visible. About twice as many PAP as there were women stood around the women, surrounding them. One policeman was standing on the wall nearest them, filming them with a video camera.

At about 12:00 noon, they were coming out of the Tsug Lhakhang [Jokhang Temple] when many people suddenly began running from Jokhang Square into the Barkor. G asserted that the people seemed very frightened and had gone into a sudden panic. There was no sign at all of anything that might have provoked such a sudden rush by many people.

Shops closed immediately and "the street was full of people running, including us". The panicky running lasted about twenty seconds. The running stopped and everyone started "rushing away". "People really got frightened."

G noticed a monk (in robes) picking up a small child and carrying him away to safety. There was "hysterical frightened laughter..."

G and T went back to the Jokhang after the confusion settled. Most shops had closed very quickly. People were returning to the Jokhang Temple. They were very quiet, just walking around. G and T guessed that they simply wanted to be there, to show that they had returned and to prove they had not been chased away or intimidated.

After some time in the Temple, they moved over to the terrace at the Barkor Cafe (on the southeast corner of the Jokhang Square).

At about 1pm they suddenly heard a lot of shouting coming from the Square and rushed out to the open-air portion of the terrace. A Spanish tour group, several of whom had

video cameras with them, was inside the cafe at the same time but were prevented by their guide from going onto the terrace. There was a demonstration in progress. The demonstrators numbered somewhere between 150 and 300. It was difficult to accurately estimate the numbers because of the large amount of bystanders and the general confusion.

The demonstrators appeared to have some small flags and large banners. The front line or "the leading edge" as they called them of the demonstrators consisted of around ten children, probably no more than ten years old, with adults, who might have been their parents, behind. Many more people were pouring in from both sides of the Barkor adjoining the Square and merging with the demonstration. Those carrying the small flags and larger banners were at the head of the procession, but behind the children. In a very short period of time, between two and five minutes, the crowd had grown to between 500 and 800 and was still growing. The group was moving through the Square, heading west away from the Jokhang, down the street (Mimang Lam/Remnin Lu).

There were about 10 uniformed police - they had no idea how many were in plain clothes - near the western edge of the Square which opens onto Mimang Lam. There was no sign of any kind of aggression on either side.

G and T left the Barkor Cafe, where the Spanish group was still being prevented from leaving the cafe by their guide, and followed the procession at a distance of about 400m. They could only see the tail end of the demonstration at that time.

The group proceeded westward down Mimang Lam to the gates of the TAR government compound which is next to the "People's Park" just south of the Potala Palace. The gate had been shut. Behind the fence were about 30 policemen with shields and helmets and one policeman with a video camera filming the protesters.

They said they saw three children spitting through the fence at the riot shields which the police held. G saw one truck full of police arrive; T saw another already there. The truck was followed by a large medical ambulance truck. Four or five rickshaws arrived, following the trucks. For some reason some of the bystanders applauded the rickshaws.

Those in the forefront of the crowd shouted slogans more or less continuously while they were outside the gates of the compound. A foreigner who spoke Tibetan told them the slogans were about economics but did not describe them. After they had been there for five minutes or less a policeman in a bright orange-red "disco jacket" approached T and told her, in English, to leave the area for her own safety. She asked him "What's going on?" and was told "It's not my duty to tell you what's going on." He again told her to leave.

The policeman told them a third time and G asked why they should leave. He replied, "I'm a policeman; I know what's best for your safety." G asked what was happening and the policeman said "It's none of your business" and asked where they were staying. They gave him the name of the hotel... The policeman with the orange-red disco-jacket walked away slowly, speaking into his two-way radio, and disappeared into the crowd.

They remained a couple of minutes more and began to slowly walk back the way they had come. Shops, nearly all Chinese, were rapidly closing.

Both commented that, as of that point, they had not seen any aggression on the part of the protesters, apart from the children spitting at the police. Two Chinese officers in dark blue uniforms seemed to be following them. An elderly Tibetan woman approaching them noticed this and indicated so to G and T, with a flick of her head toward the police.



Very shortly after that more people began to move past them back toward the Jokhang. At the same time they noticed a long, single file of policemen walking on the pavements on either side of the street. They were also heading back to the Jokhang.

The procession by then had begun moving again and was turning left on Dekyi Lam (Chinese: Beijing Lu) heading out of town westwards toward the Holiday Inn. The police were not interfering, and helped the procession make a smooth left turn at the cross roads. A policeman with a video camera was trying to film everything that moved past him at that corner. There still had been no sign of aggression on the part of the Tibetans.

They returned to the hotel where they noticed the policeman with the orange-red disco jacket speaking with hotel staff. He said nothing to them as they went by.

They remained the rest of the afternoon at their hotel.

At about 4 or 4.30pm things started up again near the hotel, but more aggressively. "Suddenly the shouting and running started again," they said. Small groups of up to twenty were running along Dekyi Lam past the hotel from the direction of the new city eastwards back into the Tibetan area. Some policemen were standing by a bus stop, watching what was happening. The people running raised their fists and shouted at the police as they ran past.

At about 5pm [other reports say this was about 6 or 6.30pm], from the streets around the Barkor, you could hear the sound of teargas grenades exploding. Neither G or T realised they were teargas at first, thinking it sounded more like small artillery.

A well-dressed man in a dark suit and tie came up the street on foot, shooting teargas grenades. G was surprised at how immaculately he was dressed for his job.

Not long afterwards a police jeep drove rapidly up Dekyi Shar Lam with one policeman shooting a hand-held automatic rifle into the air. Soon after another group of jeeps charged in from the east and then came right back from the west, apparently making a u-turn on the edge of the Tibetan area in order to race up and down the street. At that point there was no-one on the street any more.

From his window in the hotel G saw a military-coloured police jeep drive slowly up the abandoned street. When the vehicle approached the Yak Hotel the man in the front passenger seat, wearing a police uniform, carefully lobbed a grenade to land in front of the closed gate of the hotel. It exploded, shaking the window above and sending a fair amount of teargas into the hotel courtyard. G was certain that the act was deliberate; the vehicle was moving quite slowly and the officer took very careful aim.

The noise of exploding teargas canisters could be heard until between 9 and 9.30 pm, with pauses of up to twenty minutes between them, often just a few minutes. Tourists at the hotel were locked in and not allowed to go anywhere except to the restaurant next door. Even though the entrance was only a few steps away, hotel staff were told (apparently by the police) to escort them next door. G and T both went for there to eat. There were a number of Chinese inside eating and drinking, apparently unperturbed by the events outside.

At the hotel, foreign guests helped each other cope with the effects of the teargas, making sure those affected were given water to wash their faces and eyes and soaked clothes to ease the burning sensation. Apparently the hotel staff were instructed by the police to prevent foreigners from watching the goings-on from the windows... Those near the window were told to come down one by one so the

police could ask them some questions. The instructions may have been genuine, but no one ever saw the police.

Within minutes of each volley of teargas, Tibetans would return to the street, according to G and T. The Tibetans continued to "maintain a presence on their streets". By 9.30 the streets became quiet and stayed that way through the night. They heard from Tibetans the next day that there had been no shooting casualties and that all the police firing was into the air. They were told that there had been many arrests, including monks, but no one had any idea where the arrested people were...

They said that they asked other foreigners if they had seen Tibetans stoning shops or offices, attacking vehicles or burning anything, but none of them had seen anything like that.

### **Eyewitness Account 3: Afternoon of 24th May: the protest grows.**

Although many westerners saw the demonstrators on their way to the Government Offices during the first two or three hours of the 24th May protest, only a few tourists saw what happened in the Barkor square in the three hours before the police started to use teargas at about 6.30pm. In this account two Americans describe what they saw from one o'clock until 6pm as the demonstrators returned from the Holiday Inn to the Barkor and, growing in number, attempted to enter at least one police station. [TIN ref: T3(Y)Pp1-ed]

We walked down towards the Holiday Inn [that is, we walked west, out of town] where we thought the marchers had walked, but we didn't see them anywhere. The streets were lined with policemen in riot gear, wearing their shields, standing on the street corner, especially the one where the huge yak statues are right by the bank. That corner, and all the way around it, was lined more or less shoulder to shoulder with policemen wearing shields and holding helmets and sticks.

So the marchers came towards us and then made that left turn past the bank, where the Potala is, and they walked up behind it, past the bank, around the Potala. It was weird because at that corner where the riot police were lined up, the crowd just walked by the police, and the police didn't do anything.

The marchers stopped at various places, and they sort of went into courtyards and chanted and then would keep going. At one point they stopped right in front of the west side of the Potala and started cheering, and then this whole other huge group of Tibetans came and joined them, came from where they had just been and joined up with them. So the crowd basically doubled. I think there were much more than 200 even by then. Two or three hours we were walking, on the side of the road, on the pavement, while they were walking in the middle. And then we saw no policemen in uniform for something like the next four hours.

They were throwing something like dirt at some of the Chinese offices they passed, although no windows were broken or anything. But they would stop outside these gates and yell and then throw a few handfuls of dirt or whatever.

We ended up on the road coming back into the Barkor Square. The square was pretty full by that point. I would guess maybe there were about five to seven hundred people marching at that point. All along people just kept joining, joining, joining.

I was with another woman and we went and just followed the demonstration and walked round the Barkor. All of the stalls and everything were closed in the Barkor: there was nothing. And the crowd was really big. Once we had entered into the Barkor we just had to continue with the crowd. And we went all the way round the Barkor and at the end we came out where there is a police building, and there a lot of people stopped. Originally I thought that the

*whole demonstration had stopped there at the police station but then later I realised that most of the marchers had continued and only one group of people had stopped. We were told that people had been arrested and taken inside but I think that was just a guess or a rumour.*

*The gates were closed and they were yelling, yelling, yelling and trying to like push their way in, and on top of that building there was a video camera that was filming the entire time. I stayed there for about an hour I think.*

*The area around the police station was packed and people were standing up on top of tables; it just went on and on. Nothing was really happening but there was lots of yelling and shoving but most of the other people were just kind of observing. I would guess there were about three or four hundred people there. I never saw any police or I never saw anyone come in or out of that building. We stayed there for something like an hour and took some pictures - nothing really happened.*

*And then we decided to walk out into the main square in front of the Jokhang. It was totally filled with people. There was all this activity in front of the other police station, the one in the square. We were there for another hour and a half, and there was a lot of activity there again: supposedly people were arrested and were inside that building. This kind of scene escalated into more of a frenzy, they were starting to throw stone. They broke the glass of a number of the windows. On the ground floor the doors of the building were open but the Tibetans wouldn't actually go inside, even though they were pushing. I think they were really afraid, that was my interpretation, and every time someone would throw a stone the whole crowd would run back. Then they gathered forward again and someone would throw another stone. Again there was a video camera on top of that building which was filming and you could see behind some of the windows that there were police there. Occasionally someone would come to the window and everyone would yell a couple of times. There was just a huge, huge crowd there - the whole area was filled with people.*

*And at some point during that time the other demonstrators who had been marching returned to the Square. We had thought that they had already finished. At that point we realised that during those two hours we were there the march had gone round again. I'm not sure, but it seemed to come back, still chanting the same slogans and everything, and the square filled up even more.*

*But again there were no visible policemen out there. And I think there were definitely plain clothes policemen in the crowd. We found out later, when we were taken in for questioning, that some had been following us for hours.*

*It was just kind of quieting down a little bit but it was still full of people. But nothing - most people were just kind of standing there, observing. It wasn't like in the beginning of the march when things had seemed pretty organised, and people had been chanting together and they had waited for people to catch up, and so on. At this point it was like there was no unified group activity. A lot of people were trying to stop the stone-throwers and there was no large single group of people chanting the same thing, or anything like that. And a lot of people were really just looking on and observing.*

*It was about 6 or 6.30 when we left. I think they were dispersed with teargas shortly later. I could hear them shooting the teargas from the PSB office where I was, and I could see people running.*

*I don't know why they started firing the teargas. That's when they got all the westerners out - I don't think there weren't (?) any westerners in the Square at that point. I think that's also when most people got arrested. It was strange: It seemed when we left as though things were getting quieter and quieter and then all of a sudden... Maybe something else happened; I don't know.*

#### **Eyewitness Account 4: Detention of Foreigners.**

Between 10 and 15 westerners were detained on 24th May, mainly for taking photographs of the protest. None were held overnight. Most were fined between 200 and 400 yuan FEC as long as they signed a confession. One European man, reported to have joined in the demonstration, was fined 600 FEC and given three days to leave. 3 Japanese were fined 200 FEC each and made to leave in 5 days. An American woman who spoke Tibetan and had taken one photograph was given one day to leave.

David Lacey, a computer programmer from London, was on the last day of his holiday in Lhasa when he saw the demonstrators gathered outside the TAR Government Offices and took two photographs. He describes what happened when he was arrested.

*At about 3.30 I saw what looked like the tail end of a demonstration going clockwise around the Jokhang. Two plainclothes PSB men told me to go back to my hotel "or there will be big trouble". I went anti-clockwise round the Barkor to see the front of the demonstration, and saw about 50 people gathered in front of the old police station, by the south western corner of the Jokhang Temple, where part of the crowd eventually entered the front door of the police station, to the applause of the bystanders.*

*Some Tibetans asked me to take photographs, but I had no camera. So I went back to my hotel and got my camera, returning to the march at about 4pm. By this time the demonstrators, about 250 of them plus some 800 onlookers, were in front of the gates at the Government Offices. There was a Chinese guy with a very sophisticated video, quite a big one with lots of little gadgets on it, who was behind the gates and filming whatever he could see in front of him. There were a few soldiers on the higher parts of the wall, watching in a rather bemused way. About 40 police were visible on the rooftops and many helmeted soldiers behind the gates. I took two photographs, trying to hide the camera while I did it.*

*At about 4.30pm the demonstration seemed to fade away, and people started leaving. As I started to walk away two men put their hands on my shoulders, and said I had to go with them. I said that I had a bicycle and I had to go back first to the hotel. So then they agreed that I should take it back, and as I pedalled off one of them jumped on the back of the bike. Then before we reached the corner he changed his mind and said we should get a police car.*

*So we waited at the corner and he flagged down an empty police car. Then there was the problem of how to get the bike in the car. It was a land cruiser, but he couldn't get the back open for a while. It was quite humorous, but I was dead scared, even though I thought they would never harm a Westerner.*

*I kept on saying "What law have I broken?" They said, "You will find out when you get there".*

*I was taken in. It was the police station for the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), not the city one, on Dekyi Lam after you pass the Banakshol Hotel going east from the cross roads.*

*There was a small guy, whose English was excellent, trying to act a little rough, pushing me into the seat, making me stand up, trying to intimidate me. Later the guy I had gone to see to apply for a permit a few days earlier was there too. The ones who had met me near the Jokhang earlier in the afternoon kept shouting at me "Why didn't you do what I said?". They were the ones who had told me then to go back to my hotel.*

*There were two other Westerners in another room, a man and woman who spoke in a language I didn't understand. I heard some of the things they were saying. They were being very mildly harassed about the fact that they had taken photographs. It was very mild: someone would go in from time to time and say "Why were you taking pictures?"*

When I was taken for questioning I was taken into a room which wasn't an interrogation room, but the room where you go to ask for permits, with airport seats and posters on the wall - perfect for a nice little informal chat. It was about half an hour before I was called in. I was quite worried and I saw someone walking along the corridor with some film... I didn't think at that stage that they knew I had taken photographs. I was going to say that I hadn't taken any photos. They had taken my camera when the guy frisked me.

Then a guy came in and asked me to write down why I was in Tibet, which I did very briefly. Then he came back and demanded more details. This is not enough, he said. I said it was enough. He asked me to sign it, which I did. It reminded me of what happened to Robert Ford, the British radio man captured by the Chinese in Tibet in 1950. I was worried it might take a long time, perhaps several days. I had written about a page. They seemed to think that I had got into Tibet as an individual tourist. I had come in with a group, I said.

The interrogation was quite frightening and the person who did it was a master of the stuff, and his English was good enough to play tricks. He started by asking why I had come, what was my problem, trying to get me to say what was illegal about what I had done, why had the police brought me there, that sort of thing. It's quite clever, that.

He was all the time saying that the only thing I could have done was to have taken photographs. Later he said that it was illegal for foreigners to join a demonstration. He asked if I had been to Tibet before: this was important to him, to know if I had been before. He wanted to know how I got into Tibet in the first place.

His main tactics were just to insist that I had been taking photographs and that he could prove that I had been, and unless I could accept it I would be in big trouble. It sounds facile but it was done in a clever, frightening way.

The trouble he threatened me with was not specific. The implication was that it would be very unpleasant if he found I had been lying. Nothing was specified. It was rather strange. There was one small incident when I said I didn't want to write out a statement and they said they would confiscate my camera, which I didn't mind.

As it was, the camera was an old model and they could not open it. He asked me to open the camera. Perhaps he meant remove the film. So I exposed the film. He was disheartened: he had lost his leverage. He started losing interest in that line of questioning and began to ask me what I had been doing in Tibet. I told him where I had been with the group I had travelled with earlier. He tried to frighten me about the driver getting into trouble because I hadn't had a tour guide and said that I should have got a travel permit from Tsethang for the places in that area we went to. He said the driver could be in big trouble for doing this. It wasn't a particular place he referred to, but sort of everywhere.

He said that individual travel is forbidden in Tibet. Maybe it is one of those rules they dig out at a convenient moment to use against people. I told him I was in a group anyway, but he said it had to be official and through one of the agencies. When I told him I was going back to Nepal the next day in a group, he wanted to know who had organised the group. I had arranged to join a rather cheapish overland trek to Zhangmu, and I told him the name of the tour company...

We talked a while, then a man from the tour company I had named was brought in. It seemed very quick, getting him there. There were other officials who had wandered into the room from time to time, but I don't know how he did it - to get someone to fetch the tour guy there so quickly.

They asked him, did you organise a trip for this man? He was much more nervous than me. He was literally shaking and stuttering. He said he hadn't taken me in one of his groups, and I managed to explain that I had done the booking with someone else, who I named, who used the same office but belonged to a different company. He seemed to know the tour leader I named, and I think said as much, and then lost interest in that story. The shaking man then left.

I met him afterwards in the hotel and apologised. He was a bit scared and nervous. I don't know if I had put him in danger. He was really worried in case I had in fact been in one of his groups and had then put him under suspicion.

Then the interrogator lost interest, and realised he wasn't getting anywhere, and from then on he was really wrapping things up. He asked me in a formal way to tell him the truth, and then he wrote down what I said in Chinese and asked me to sign it. I said, I won't sign a statement I can't read. Then he said, okay I'll go through it, and he translated it word for word and made a change whenever I asked for one. He had combined the two separate events: me first seeing the demonstration and then going back later - he never believed I went to the demonstration twice.

I had told him that at first I thought it was a strange religious event and then realised when someone explained the slogan on one of the banners to me that it was an economic protest, which I thought could not be illegal since it was not about politics. In fact I had photographed that banner with the slogan: it was in both Tibetan and Chinese and a Chinese girl - a tourist - speaking perfect English, had translated it for me. It was a complaint about the cost of living. I used the description 'economic demonstration' and he used that in the statement.

The summary he wrote was in fact very mild and I was sort of happy that things were going to be wrapped up. He didn't fine me or expel me as the police did with others caught taking photos; perhaps it was because he had no evidence of the photographs, since I had exposed the film, or perhaps it was because he realised that it was, as I had said, my first visit to Tibet, and I was leaving the next day anyway. Also, I had left my passport, intentionally, at the hotel. Other tourists had had their passports confiscated, and then had to pay fines to get them back.

Just as I was about to sign it, there were three loud bangs, and through the door I could see people running backwards and forwards. I said, so you have some problems here, and he said something about criminal elements. It was teargas.

This was about 8pm. I had been there for three hours. The teargas canisters had been fired outside the police station where I was. When they let me go I pushed my bike back along the pavement and saw tea gas being used, canisters being shot out of something, I don't remember what. The canisters seemed to be skidding along the road before exploding a few yards away. I was told by other people that they were firing them from vehicles. ...I saw smoke coming out, heard loud bangs and saw lots of action, but I wasn't exactly sure what was happening. I saw some explode outside the Banakshol Hotel just after I passed. It seemed to be all quite random where the things were being fired.

Later that evening, at about 9 pm, at least one canister was fired outside the hotel gates. I suppose this was to keep us tourists off the streets; it made it impossible to leave.

#### **Eyewitness Account No 5: Reasons and Objectives**

A western tourist who speaks Tibetan watched the protest during the first part of the day. Here they give their impressions of who the marchers were and why they were protesting.

The people on the streets whom I talked with on the day of the protest said it was about the high price of shop-bought items such as yak butter and cooking oil. One Tibetan that I



met who spoke English told me that in July the prices were expected to increase by 30%, and that was what the protesters were concerned about. But, this was before the crowd had swelled to 1,500 people or more, and before they returned to the Barkor. Unfortunately, there is a gap in my knowledge of what had happened: I stopped following the crowd at about 3:30 and it wasn't until the 7:00 blasts of teargas that I was able to tell again what was going on. But everyone that I talked with after the teargas was used said that the protesters had begun to demand Tibetan independence, which is presumably the reason for the Chinese response. This seems to make sense, given that the following protests were all of a political nature.

I do not know who the leaders of this protest were. I heard there was a clean-up before the protest, so perhaps these folks were all arrested and that is why the organisation at the time of the attempted sit-in outside the People's Congress (opposite the Holiday Inn) failed. But, the overall organisation seemed to have held as there were lots of people by the end of the day and the strike was quite an effective tool in showing how many Tibetans were involved.

All of the stores around the Barkor were closed. There were no Chinese shop owners participating in the strike which is why I believe that this protest was a uniquely Tibetan thing and that no matter what people say it was political even when they were only protesting about inflation. I feel very strongly about this and told the reporters when they called. This demonstration was economical, but if one looks under the covers one will see that it is an issue of the Chinese occupation. No Tibetan told me this. It is just my own opinion.

As for the make-up of the protest, the people involved at the start were mostly younger, perhaps university aged. As the protest grew there were women with their children, Khampa men... Most seemed to be from the middle class. They didn't wear rags but they weren't dressed like the upper class dresses. Most of them were women: I'm not sure why. There were no Chinese involved at all.

They were definitely identifying with each other as Tibetans. At one point on the north side of the Lingkor, a group of Tibetan men began to throw stones at the Chinese stall keepers who were set up at one intersection. Immediately a large Khampa man stepped in and yelled at them. He and I then discussed how bad that was and, of course, what the Dalai Lama would say about this activity and if I had ever met him, and so on. Anyway, it was a group of middle-class Tibetans that made up the bulk of the group, but the core that started it seemed to be younger and much more excited. (They were the ones with their fists in the air the whole time.) For the first few hours it was very tense. But it seemed that as the protest continued and the Chinese still did not respond with its usual force, people gained confidence and joined in.

It was hard to be sure at what stage the Chinese decided the protest was no longer legal, and at what stage they decided to use force to stop it. [The first sign, although it seems to have had no impact] was the baton charge that was made by police as the protest made its way towards the Holiday Inn. I'm not sure what happened because I had caught a bus to get down to the Holiday Inn - the police were blocking our way, so we had to go around the marchers. The charge was at the rear of the protest, but it didn't seem to have done anything as the protesters didn't seem at all disturbed. They were still focused on the protest and not on their safety, as I assume they would have been if there had been a real charge. This whole thing is really a mystery to me. It seemed that the whole time the Chinese were prepared to stop the protest but didn't. They had plenty of personnel and guns, and so on.

I heard the protest was allowed to go on for so long because the organisers had asked for and received permission to hold an economic protest. So, they had a

permit or something I think. Perhaps this was all in good faith, seeing as to how the EC reportedly left upset that they were not allowed to meet any Tibetans alone, and that the precious MFN deal still in the works had not then been signed. Perhaps the Chinese gave the Tibetans a permit to hold a protest in an attempt to say, "Look! We let our people express their feelings. We listen to our nationalities!" But when the protest stopped talking about the economic ailments and instead began to chant more political slogans, the Chinese couldn't allow it to continue any longer.

#### Eyewitness Account 6: Suspected of Supplying Information.

The police were not only interested in foreigners who took photographs of the May protests. This account describes the experience of one tourist whom the police believed, mistakenly, had been sending information about the events to the outside world. The tourist was followed and questioned in three towns they visited as they travelled across Tibet (T2VP), edited]

On 24th May I was filming the start of the demonstrations when the PSB plain clothes men observed me actually photographing one particular incident. They grabbed me and took my camera. They wanted the film but I grabbed the camera back, took the film out of the camera and managed to expose the film before they were able to rewind it. This they then confiscated. I went back to the hotel. I was followed constantly all afternoon, but there were no further events that day.

Two days later I came into the hotel where I was staying to be told by the manager that the PSB had been enquiring as to my whereabouts. He had been told to inform them when I returned to the hotel. This he did, and about five minutes later three uniformed PSB officers turned up. I thought that it was due to the confiscation of my film and that somehow they had tracked me down but in fact nothing was said about this incident.

The PSB interviewed me in my room. They constantly asked me if I was interested in Buddha. They wanted to know when I arrived in Tibet, what I had been doing since I had been there, how many monasteries I had visited, where I was coming from, whether and when I had spent any time in Nepal and again why was I interested in Buddha and why was I visiting so many monasteries and what did I hope to achieve whilst I was in Tibet.

These questions I thought I answered adequately at the time. They asked me also if I spoke Tibetan. I said no, and said that I didn't understand any of the words that were being said during the demonstration, and so on.

They then concluded the interview and said they hoped I had a nice stay in China.

Three days later I left for another town. I visited the temple there; I feel I was followed whilst I was doing this. There was a strange man who came to the hotel saying he wanted to interview us for a local newspaper; he took our photo and nothing could be proved otherwise but it was all very suspect at the time.

Later that night we were woken up in the hotel room at about 11pm by a uniformed PSB officer, a plain clothes PSB and one female interpreter. They demanded to see our passports and travel documents. We showed them these and they went away, apparently relatively satisfied but saying that there seemed to be some slight problem which they would check. We had gone back to sleep when they returned to our hotel room. It was after midnight. I was told to pack all my things and then they took me to the local PSB office. They wanted to know a verbal account of my exact movements for the whole time I had been in Tibet. They wanted me to tell them what I had done every day, who I had seen, where I had visited. They wanted my film, my camera, my personal papers, all the books that I was carrying. They asked me if I knew other certain English nationals. They wanted to know what I had seen on the



24th and then finally they accused me of passing out information from Tibet on the recent events in Lhasa. They finally let me return to the hotel; it was about 2.30 or 3.00 in the morning.

Then they had also taken the Tibetan driver's identity card and travel documents so he couldn't take us anywhere and I was told that I was confined to the hotel and that I wasn't to leave until they contacted me the following morning.

By 10.30am nobody had turned up. We didn't know what was going on. We wanted to leave of course so two women who were in our party decided to go to the PSB office to check what was happening. They were told that it was none of their business and that they should leave without me. My friends threatened of course to contact all our embassies, but the police told them to go away and mind their own business basically. At 12.00pm we decided to ring all our embassies or to see if we could contact anybody, so the rest of the group went off to do that.

At approximately 12.30 midday the PSB rang the hotel and told the driver to bring me into the PSB office. They then wanted me to write an account of every day I had been in Tibet, who I had seen, where I had gone and particularly the events of the 24th. Again I was questioned closely as to who I had passed out information to, what information I had passed out and to this I replied that I had done nothing. After about another hour of interrogation and written reports they finally said that Lhasa PSB said that we could go. The instructions to pick me up came from Lhasa PSB to the local PSB.

We finally left and proceeded to the next town, where we stayed for the night. Everything went fine until about midnight when seven PSB officers arrived at our hotel and for no reason wanted to see our passports, wanted to see our travel permits, dragged our driver out of bed yet again and they refused to leave. Generally I think they were just there to harass us but this time I wasn't questioned further. I was able to leave without further incident a few days later; I think they finally realised they had got the wrong person.

#### **Eyewitness Account 7: Demonstration on 25th May**

An American student on holiday in Lhasa describes the demonstration on the second day.

I think it began at eleven. We heard shouting from the square in front of the Jokhang. We went into our room in the hotel and about five minutes later we heard people start firing teargas and so as we were on the third floor we went outside and we could see from our room perhaps eight or nine policemen firing into the crowd below, although we couldn't see the crowd. They were standing on the roof of the police station there...

I was looking right out onto the street and it was just like a massive wave of people running. I saw some teargas; the bombs or canisters or whatever they're called were there right across from our hotel. People started running into the courtyard of the Snowlands, and they started pumping water to wash peoples' eyes out with. People who didn't belong to the Snowlands were all coming running in; the gas was really strong.

We were told that people were supposed not to leave their hotels that day, although the police said that I could go out if I went to a monastery or somewhere like that. But some hotels understood it to mean that they should not let people out at all. In fact our hotel, the Snowlands, was fined because we had been [allowed out on the 24th May] and arrested, so the hotel would have been fined again if we had left again.

They fired teargas for a long time. It wasn't just like one going off. It lasted for an hour or something like that, and it was certainly more than an hour before the air cleared and we stood there watching them fire.

#### **Eyewitness Account 8: 1st June Demonstration**

A summary of an interview with two westerners, named here as "F" and "G", who saw the protest on June 1st and some of the arrests carried out immediately afterwards.

F said that he saw between five to ten people, probably seven, marching along the Barkor. They had done a korwa and were chanting something when they were picked up by the police. They had a flag of some sort, but F wasn't sure exactly what it was. He left just after he saw that.

But G, a European woman who can speak Tibetan, was walking through the crowd with a Tibetan friend from abroad, who was very sensitive about being in Tibet and didn't want to be involved with anything. They came into the korwa from the south west corner and within a few metres he was saying to be careful and that something was happening. And within a short period of time the police came by and picked up a woman from the crowd who was dressed in what she called very drab clothes, a Communist hat, Communist jacket. They knew who to look for, they picked her out from the crowd. She put up a lot of resistance but they took her away.

Then they walked on around the korwa, and when they got to the south west corner they picked up a man. Finally I think then they picked these other people up from the crowd who were doing the korwa?

What was interesting about these arrests was that they knew who to look for in the crowd and also when they put these three people - this one woman and the two young men - into the truck the crowd gathered and thirty people or maybe more tried to stop the truck from leaving. There was a lot of emotion. Most of the women were crying and there was a lot of high feeling. Eventually the other police pushed them away and the truck managed to get away.

These were different arrests from the five to ten who were arrested as a block: these people were specifically picked out.

#### **Eyewitness Account 9: 4th June Demonstration**

A British traveller describes the arrests of a group of protesters on 4th June.

It happened at exactly three minutes to one on June 4th. I was doing a few korwas (circuits of the Jokhang Temple) because it was Saka Dawa, the festival that marks the Buddha's birthday. There were loads of beggars and I was walking round giving money out; it's the tradition to do that at that time. I had just gone past the Barkor Square and had walked about 50 metres along the korwa. I was near the place where the Khampas play pool and have their meat there in the little alley that goes off the main circuit, when all of a sudden - literally within 2 seconds - all the beggars upped and ran and everybody sprinted past me. There was a lot of very loud movement of people and I immediately ran towards Barkor Square.

When I got there I saw two young men, one of them a monk, and the other a fairly youngish looking man who looked about sixteen or seventeen in plain clothes, being taken away by the police. I would say that roughly half of them were in plain clothes and half were in uniform. They were caught at the south west corner of the Barkor, just where the circuit comes out at the square. So I am not sure what they had done before but I saw them being arrested. They were taken away. And as they were being taken away I saw them raising their fists and, I think, chanting.

By the time they got to the police station and what I call the "meat wagon", the police truck which stands outside the police station in the square, another three youths started chanting and unfurled a banner, a Tibetan flag that was obviously home made. They were caught within five yards; the police just swooped on them immediately. When they

were caught I remember them like struggling, but they just didn't have a chance and were taken away. Then all the police went with them to the police station.

Meanwhile, as soon as they were arrested, another young Tibetan, different from these others - he was a monk - unfurled a banner and walked very slowly [across the square] towards the start of the korwa, all the time shouting and holding his flag up. He walked within a few yards of me. I was amazed.

the Chinese police didn't seem to see him for the first hundred yards and then they saw him and they ran and arrested him.

He put up a bit of a resistance but they got him out onto the truck and a friend of mine, who was in the Barkor cafe watching it all, told me the whole incident lasted from three minutes to one to one minute past one. He only saw four people but I distinctly saw six.

They certainly all had shortish hair. Of the other five three wore Mao caps and looked incredibly normal, indistinguishable from normal people: they were not Khampas or anything, and were not wearing Tibetan clothes but those rather boring drab sort of Communist clothes. They could have been monks, although only one, the first one I saw, was in robes.

I would imagine they must have been all together or coordinated in some way because they just followed one after another.

The police who made the arrests were coming from the crowd and from the police station. At the same time police in riot gear, about twenty to thirty of them, with visors and batons had come out of the police station. I don't think they actually arrested anyone - I think the other police managed to do it for them - but they came out of the police station and walked the korwa round the temple in their riot gear.

I would guess that there were about 20 plain clothes police in the Barkor whom I noticed at the time of the arrests: they suddenly became very obvious because everybody else had run away from the scene or were very much on the fringes, so you could really tell which were police. Anyway they had walkie talkies coming out of their pockets and things like that. They were mostly Chinese but there were some Tibetans in plain clothes too.

They grabbed the demonstrators quite physically and in a sense they had to, because the Tibetans were resisting and kicking and pushing away. But I didn't see them beating them with sticks or anything like that but I did see them thrown very roughly into the police truck. I think my friend saw them being kicked inside the police truck, something which I have seen before too in another incident. So I wouldn't say they were violent but I would say they were sort of brutal, with a hint of violence to come.

Some in the crowd were crying, some women. Most of the people fled from the spot. Actually when I first saw everybody run I thought I heard a gun shot, but it wasn't one. It was just that the sound was of everybody leaving at once was so loud. They gathered around the truck to see what was happening after everybody was arrested, but the thing about this demonstration was that it didn't pick up. Nobody joined in: it was like a spark that didn't light. Everybody kept away and the police presence was so strong that it was quite hard for people to join in. A lot of fear - that was the main emotion. People were very scared of what was going on.

### 3 Political Leaflets: April/May 1993

A number of leaflets were distributed in Lhasa at around the time of the May 1993 demonstrations, apparently by a previously unknown secret group called *Bod Gyal Mangtso*, a term meaning "Tibet National Democracy" or the "Democratic Nation of Tibet". The leaflets are not dated but some sources say that this group organised the 24th May incidents. The leaflets are handwritten in a sophisticated *u-med* or cursive script.

#### Leaflet 1

TIN Ref: 1(VP)

In this Land of Snow the Tibetan people's great saviour His Holiness the Dalai Lama has constantly mentioned in his statements that in this world, democratic politics, science and the economy function on a competitive basis.

Although the decisions to support our just cause by powerful nations such as the USA and others seem to evaporate, the most important thing remains the fact that it is through the continuous struggle of us [the Tibetan people] that we shall make our cause prevail. We shall redress [the present situation] and regain the seat of power.

This is the most critical period of our struggle to win back Tibetan independence.

In our common interest, our Tibetan cadres, workers, military and our people in general must unite our efforts as one man in order to throw out our powerful enemy, the oppressive Chinese who are still riding on our shoulders.

An extremely important moment is upon us.1

Tibet is Independent - Chinese oppressors quit Tibet!

From Tibetan National Democracy 1993

#### Leaflet 2

TIN Ref: 3(VP)

The land of snow, where both religious and political systems prevail equally, has been an independent state since the year 822 [... text missing]. The Chinese Communist invaders have not only split the Tibetan nation but have adopted the devious open-door policy for internal development.

There is a great danger of the Chinese Communist invaders turning Tibet into a Chinese area through this devious policy. Tibetans should with solidarity strive hard to restore Tibet's status as an independent nation by expelling the Chinese Communist invaders from Tibet.

In particular, those Tibetans who work in the Public Security Bureau, the Procuracy and the Municipal Security Bureau, should take into consideration their own future and future generations by working for the cause of Tibetan race and state.

Today the cause of Tibet has become well known in the world. The Chinese Communist Government has with ulterior motives not only divided and split the [traditional] Tibetan system of religious and political equality but also started rumour-mongering by saying that Tibetans are splitting the Chinese Communist Government.

We Tibetans should with solidarity oppose and expel the Chinese splittists and Chinese imperialists from Tibet. Chinese Communist Imperialists get out of Tibet.

Between 27th and 1st [18th-21st May?] offer as much prayers as possible to the protectors of the land of snows.

From Tibetan National Democracy

**Leaflet 3**  
TIN Ref: 4(YP)

*Today unlike the past, there is international support for the cause of Tibetan independence due to the far sighted leadership, engaging personality and matchless actions of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.*

*It is the bounden duty of every Tibetan to strive for our common cause without relying solely on international support. In particular today when the issue of Tibetan independence has reached a critical stage.*

*We trust that all tsampa-eating Tibetans will express their solidarity by participating in the demonstrations.*

*From Tibetan National Democracy - Bod rGyal dMangs gTso  
24th April 1993*

### **Inflation and Living Standards: A Tibetan View**

A Tibetan in Lhasa gives a considered summary of the economic situation facing Tibetans in June 1993. (TIN Ref: 11(YIR))

*Currently, prices are rising all over Tibet. We have no official government documents to certify this, but we can see it happening everywhere. The petrol which we use every day has risen very steeply in price. For example, last year 1 litre cost 1.50 yuan, and currently it costs over 3 yuan. Also, the price of kerosene has doubled: last year a 30 litre tank of kerosene cost 50 yuan, and currently it costs over 110 yuan. The prices of oil, tea, sugar, cold drinks, wheat and rice have also all been rising. But the cost of transport and a few other things have stayed the same. A few days ago they said that after July all staff salaries as well as commodities would rise in price, but nothing as yet has happened.*

*The Tibetan people are living a very difficult life, and they have many complaints about how the shops are mostly owned by Chinese people selling expensive Chinese goods. The Tibetan people are finding it a daily-increasing struggle to make ends meet. Actually, prices are rising all over China, and not just in Tibet. But the situation in Tibet is completely different from that in China, where there are factories and industrialised areas everywhere, and people are able to get jobs. So, although the prices are rising, the people also have rising salaries. But in Tibet, most Tibetans are unable to get jobs and to earn any money and so even though expensive products are available, they are unable to buy them.*

*In the case of the Tibetan farmers and nomads the Chinese authorities just lay down plans (for production and taxation) without any consideration for how much income these people will be left with. Also, if a certain area is found to have mineral reserves the Tibetan people are not allowed to export them; the Chinese people do this instead, leaving the Tibetan people without even this source of income. If a Tibetan has some meat, wheat, barley or butter to sell, they are unable to make any money from it due to most of the shops being Chinese-owned and also due to the high cost of transporting their products from their village to the city. Thus, the continuing price rises, coupled with the difficulties faced by Tibetans in earning any money, leaves their income and expenditure completely unbalanced.*

### **Little Work, Low Wages**

*At the moment many young people are coming to the big cities from the countryside in the hope of finding work. But they must depend on the Chinese for providing jobs, and any jobs they may find have very low pay, which makes it impossible for them to balance such small incomes with the necessary expenditure of day to day living. So some of these young Tibetans leave their jobs and return to the countryside, and others are left just to roam around the cities with nothing to do. Because there are no independent*

*Tibetan factories, these young Tibetans are unable to get jobs where they are not having to depend on the Chinese for even a meagre wage.*

*The price of all grains has risen since June [93], but we are unable to say how much exactly. Recently, petrol has doubled - all other prices have risen like this too. For example, previously the money needed to buy one truck full of medicine could only buy a quarter of a truck now. In hospitals, the cost of medicine has risen. Also, now any medical care in hospitals must be paid for; if a person needs an operation they must first pay 1,000 yuan, and if they are unable to pay this, then they will not get any treatment. Last year a box of "rinchen" pills (Tibetan medicine) cost 25 yuan, and this year it costs 40 yuan. Also rinchen grangsbyor (rinchen drang), another Tibetan medicine, cost 28 yuan for a box, and now costs 45 yuan. Prices of all medicines have risen like this.*

### **Commodity Price Increases in Lhasa, 1993**

The three banners carried by the demonstrators on 24th May raised three demands: firstly that the government should ban all charges for medicines, secondly that it should end school fees, and thirdly that it should control price increases. This study looks at price increases in the weeks before the demonstration.

The official figure for price rises in April 1993 was 9.17%, according to a statement by Lobsang Dundrup, the Mayor of Lhasa, commenting on the May protests which were sparked off by protests about rising prices. Unofficial reports received from Tibet by TIN put the prices of nine basic commodities in Lhasa at an average of 58% in the five months after February 1993.

"In April of this year, Lhasa's commodity prices rose by 9.17%. But in the same month, commodity prices in other parts of the country rose by 17%," said Lobsang Dundrup, in an interview published in the Hong Kong paper *Wen Wei Po* on August 18th, translated by the BBC Monitoring Service.

The TIN figures are not the product of systematic research but do suggest sharp increases, probably a result of economic reforms across China which led to a steep increase in fuel costs earlier this year. Almost all of Tibetan commodities except barley, meat and wool are transported by road before reaching Lhasa, over an average distance of over 800 miles. Until 1993 fuel prices were heavily subsidised by the state.

Costs have rose sharply in China this year. Four major Chinese cities were experience inflation of more than 30 percent at an annualised a rate in February this year, and the national inflation rate was running at close to 7%, according to a UPI report in March.

But even locally produced staple commodities have increased in price. A kilo-kilogram of meat, which cost 4.75 yuan in February now costs 6 yuan, according to one source, an increase of 26%. Butter, one of the main staples by which Tibetans assess the costs of living, increased by 38% from 8.50 yuan per half-kilogram (a gyama or jin), to 11.75 yuan by July.

A ration of kerosene more than doubled in price from February when it was 0.40 yuan to July when it was 1.05 yuan. Kerosene has always been extremely difficult to get hold of, and in November 1990 there were street protests in Lhasa when the Government tried unsuccessfully to raise the official price of kerosene. Good quality kerosene with coupons can be bought from the Government shop, but there are long queues, and it is often closed (especially whenever there is a power cut, according to one resident). There is a supply of market kerosene in the Barkor, which is



relatively easy to get but is of extremely low quality, apparently diluted.

The market price of a litre of petrol has increased by over well 50% from 2 yuan to 3.15 yuan since February, double the price it had been a year earlier. Even in December 1992 it had been possible to buy petrol unofficially for 1.35 yuan per litre. In addition, since January 1993, a 100 litre coupon would only get you 96 litres of petrol, apparently because of a government surcharge being levied, and to allow for a service charge added by the petrol station.

Commodity	Feb 1993	Jul (yuan)	Feb-Jul rise %
Butter 1/2 kg (market)	8.50	11.75	38.24
Meat 1/2 kg (mkt)	4.75	6.00	26.32
Kerosene 1/2 kg (ration)	0.40	1.05	162.50
mkt price (non-rt)	0.90	1.60	77.80
mkt price 1 litre		3.67	
Cook/Oil 1/2 kg (mkt)	2.10	2.70	28.57
Petrol 1 lit (govt) (mkt)	1.04	1.60	53.85
	2.00	3.15	57.50
Sugar 1/2 kg (mkt)	1.78	2.30	29.21
Rice 1/2 kg (mkt)	0.40	0.75	87.50
Tea one brick (mkt)	1.54	1.95	26.62
Beer 0.75 litre	2.00	3.00	50.00

Prices of basic construction materials increased dramatically in February this year. Standard construction quality cement, for example, cost 480 yuan per metric ton in Lhasa in 1992, but in the Chinese New Year of 1993 this jumped by 50% to 720 yuan. There is a cement factory in Lhasa but most other materials are brought in from China. In parts of eastern Tibet cement is in extremely short supply, and there is four year waiting list for anyone ordering it.

Prices may rise further: this autumn the Government released central price controls on a further 571 products, with raw materials for production, with 22 goods being handed to local authorities to fix. It also lifted the ceiling for charges for crude oil. The change cut the number of goods with prices set by the central government to 89, from the list of 737 controlled by the state at the end of 1991, according to an AP report on 9th January 1993.

#### Causes and Blame

Although these prices have not been systematically researched, they concur with frequent reports from Tibetans in Lhasa in early May that prices had increased by a large margin.

The Mayor of Lhasa attributed the initial cause of the May protests to misunderstanding about China's economic reforms. "With the prices going up in China, Lhasa also readjusted its commodity prices. But as there had not been sufficient propaganda beforehand, some people could not understand why the prices had gone up and felt the situation difficult to cope with," he told *Wen Wei Po*. He added that some of the increases had been absorbed by the Government.

"Butter price rose from 8 or 9 yuan per kg [error for half-kilogram] to 11 or 12 yuan per [half-] kg, and gasoline prices had also risen. But the government absorbed 70% of the absolute value of price growth, while the residents only absorbed 30%, that is, 0.3 yuan per kg. On this alone, the Lhasa City Government had to provide a subsidy of 6m yuan a month", he told *Wen Wei Po*. This subsidy is not reflected in the figures given by Tibetans. The price of grain remains fixed and is heavily underwritten by the government.

Price rises are often connected by Tibetans to the increase in the number of Chinese living or working in Lhasa. "Because of such a big population of Chinese in Tibet now the cost of living is increasing, such as [the price of] flour, rice, petrol and kerosene", wrote one of the petitioners who

sent an appeal to the EC delegation in May 1993. The writer may have been influenced by the rise in prices of locally produced commodities, possibly due to excess demand.

The Tibetan researcher in Lhasa who collected many of the prices listed above summarised the changes, which he said were most noticeable in food products. "Since March 1993 there have been huge price increases in all commodities. Even the 'current' prices given above cannot be able to be taken as current now, because the prices are increasing so fast. But the Chinese just say that this is characteristic of a socialist market economy (*khrom ra'i gong tshad*)," he said.

Another Tibetan commented that the price rises were justified by the promise a growth policy which was irrelevant to Tibet, where there was little room for incomes to be boosted. "They say that price

rises are for the sake of economic development of the country and that this is a normal trend, but this cannot be applicable to Tibet, even if it is a policy adopted for the whole nation, because Tibet does not have any industries and special products that it can sell directly. All our minerals and natural raw materials are exploited by the Chinese and transported directly to China, without any access for the Tibetans to this trade. Our agricultural and livestock products bring only limited income. Without any reasonable daily income how are we expected to face price rises? The Chinese feel that they are resolving the Tibetans' problems by increasing the salary of officials, but they represent only a small minority of the Tibetan population."

#### Wages for Government Employees: A Survey

A mini-survey by TIN confirms that the Government had added subsidies to official salaries to compensate for inflation, as well as the normal subsidies existing for years which exist to attract Chinese to work in "remote" areas like Tibet.

There had been several adjustments to officials' salaries by the Government in 1992 and 1993 to compensate for inflation, and a typical wage packet for a driver's wages is now said to be 290 yuan per month, as opposed to 190 yuan a year ago. In August 1992, for example, a further 51.6 yuan per month was added to the salary of one government employee in Qinghai to cover for provincial inflation, an increase of around 16%. Further adjustments were expected in July 1993.

The subsidies received by an employee in the TAR are slightly higher than other regions due to factors like altitude and winter temperatures. The subsidies, which are paid without discrimination to both Chinese and Tibetan officials, vary even within the region itself, according to the altitude of the workplace.

A study done by TIN of some members of one government office in the TAR in the summer of 1992 showed that a typical worker at that office was receiving an average of 195 yuan that month in subsidies alone, representing 60% of their total pay packet. Each of the 17 workers surveyed took home on average 299 yuan that month. Their actual salaries before the subsidies were added amounted to an average of 121 yuan per month.



Basic Salary and Additional Subsidies at each Grade					
Grade	[Nation.] [TIN]	[Sex M/F] [TIN]	Salary yuan	Subsidies yuan	Total salary yuan per month
8	C	?	172.00	233.66	405.66
9	T	M	157.00	196.89	353.89
9	C	?	156.00	194.98	350.98
11	T	M	148.00	197.66	345.66
11	T	M	146.00	187.50	333.50
10	T	M	133.00	195.09	328.09
10	C	?	126.00	174.06	300.06
11	T	M	119.00	170.42	289.42
17	C	?	116.00	172.67	288.67
10	T	F	115.00	169.34	284.34
11	T	F	112.00	166.78	278.78
10	T	F	112.00	166.78	278.78
10	T	F	105.00	162.62	267.62
17	C	?	102.00	163.70	265.70
18	C	?	84.00	166.29	250.29
18	C	?	84.00	166.29	250.29
12	T	M	75.00	146.50	221.50

However, the range in salaries in the office, which cannot be named, was wide: the top earner was taking home 405 yuan a month, twice as much as the lowest earner, who received 220 yuan after subsidies had been added. According to the Chinese system of grading government employees, which reflects educational qualifications as well as position, the top earner, a Chinese official, was grade 8 and the lowest earner, also a Chinese, was grade 12, with a very low basic salary of only 75 yuan per month. But grade 12 is a higher position, suggesting that this person may have been a part time. Apart from this person the lowest earners in the department were grade 18, a position which is still relatively high although attracting a basic wage of only 84 yuan. A driver, usually considered a good job for a Tibetan, would usually be graded four or five levels lower than these officials, at grade 21, 22 or 23.

Average standard salary:	121.29	per month
Average subsidy total:	178.31	per month
Average entitlement total:	299.60	per month
Average total entitlement:	3,595.20	per year
Total of top earner :	4,867.92	per year
Average salaries as percentage of total:	40.49%	
Average subsidies as percentage of total:	59.51%	

There would be substantial undeclared advantages for the higher status officials, beyond their salaries and subsidies. The Chinese official who was the highest earner in the office was listed at grade 8, suggesting that he held an independent level (*duli xian ji*) or even a prefecture level position, with entitlements to a government house and his own car and driver besides other advantages. His two immediate subordinates, who are 9th grade officials earning just over 350 yuan a month, would probably not be entitled to their own cars but would have access to the office car.

The subsidies added to each official's salary are made up mainly of a regional subsidy of 52% and an additional temporary regional allowance of 12% of the basic salary, together with three fixed subsidies: a cost of living allowance fixed at 46 yuan, an altitude allowance of 25 yuan, an allowance for heating of 3 to 4 yuan, and a laundry allowance of 25 or 26 yuan.

Over half the officials were in debt to the office, and some had borrowed a substantial portion of their salary in advance. In the month of the survey 10 of the 17 office workers surveyed - including some of the highest paid ones - owed around 150 or 200 yuan to the office, often well over 50% of their earnings. One person, a Tibetan woman of 10th grade, had borrowed 100% of her entitlement, and received nothing at all when it came to the monthly pay-day.

The distribution of salaries in the Department shows no advantage or discrimination for the Chinese officials, except for the fact that the highest earner is Chinese. But three of the four lowest paid officials in the department (although this probably does not include manual or semi-skilled workers) are also Chinese. What is noteworthy is only the number of Chinese in the office - 7 out of 17. The total Chinese percentage in the Tibetan Autonomous Region is 3%, according to the Chinese own figures, but in this office the percentage is 41%. The ethnic distribution of officials by grade is as follows:

Numbers of Tibetans and Chinese staff at each Salary Grade		
Grade	No. of Tibetans	No. of Chinese
8	0	1
9	1	1
10	4	1
11	4	0
12	1	0
17	0	2
18	0	2
Total	10	7

Note that the two officials at grade 18, the lowest in this department, both Chinese, actually earn about 20 yuan a month more than their colleague, a Tibetan woman, who is graded 12, presumably because of longer service or better qualifications, or perhaps because she is working part time.

## Reported Demonstrations 1992-93

### Partial list of Demonstrations in Tibet from January 1992 to August 1993

- \* Major Incidents
- [ ] incidents which were not explicitly pro-independence
- ( ) incidents which are unconfirmed

This list gives the dates of 62 incidents since January 1992 involving public assembly or protest in Tibet or China which called for Tibetan independence, 14 of which are not confirmed. There were at least 5 other protests which did not include explicit demands for independence. Incidents involving putting up posters, handing out leaflets, closing shops, and hoisting the forbidden Tibetan flag are generally not included in this list. The incidents took place in the Barkor, Lhasa, unless otherwise stated.

There have been 129 reported pro-independence incidents since September 1987, plus 12 other protests which did not include explicit demands for independence. An additional 35 demonstrations have been reported but have not been confirmed.

Reports of Demonstrations
1987: 8 incidents plus 1 unconfirmed
1988: 17 incidents
1989: 21 incidents plus 11 unconfirmed
1990: 13 incidents plus 6 unconfirmed
1991: 34 incidents plus 4 unconfirmed
1992: 24 incidents plus 1 unconfirmed
1993: 24 incidents plus 13 unconfirmed (to end August 1993)

#### 1992 24 incidents plus 1 unconfirmed

[January 1992: 200 Tibetan students from the Minorities Institute in Beijing boycotted their classes for two weeks after an official described Tibetan traditions as "useless nonsense". (*Der Spiegel*, 3 Feb 1992)]

3rd February 1992: 5 nuns from Michungri nunnery and 1 monk demonstrate in the Barkor and are arrested

5th March 1992: 25 women inmates at Drapchi prison beaten for not wearing prison uniform; not clear if this was a deliberate protest

10th March 1992: between 30 and 40 monks arrested after a demonstration in Rong Chamchen Monastery, Rinpung County, Shigatse

March 1992: 9 monks arrested after a demonstration in Rong Drayul Kyitsal Monastery in Rinpung County

March 1992: 11 monks arrested after a demonstration in Yakde Tharpa Choeling Kyitsal Monastery in Rinpung County

20th March 1992: (1) 4 monks arrested after leading crowd of several hundred people around the Barkor

20th March 1992: (2) 3 nuns demonstrate in Lhasa; no arrests

21st March 1992: 3 nuns from Chubsang nunnery are arrested after a demonstration in the Barkor

1st May 1992: 32 monks from Kirti Monastery are briefly detained and 8 kept in prison after a demonstration in Ngaba, Sichuan (Tibet Government-in-exile)

7th May 1992: at least 5 men arrested during a protest in the Barkor at around 1pm

11th May 1992: 10 monks from Ganden; 4 or 5 arrested during a protest at 11.15am

13th May 1992: about 20 Drepung monks held a protest; at least 13 arrested; Barkor

14th May 1993: 5 nuns demonstrated and arrested in the Barkor

16th May 1992: 6 monks and 4 nuns demonstrated and arrested in the Barkor. Some accounts say there were two incidents on this day

10th June 1992: 4 monks from Sera arrested in the Barkor

15th June 1992: 3 monks arrested for demonstrating in the Barkor at 2.50pm

17th June 1992: 3 monks from Gyama Trikhong and 2 nuns from Garu in Barkor at 11.30 am; 2 nuns and at least 1 monk arrested; other minor disturbances reported

22nd June 1992: 12 nuns from Garu arrested by Potala at 9 am with two flags at about 9 am (originally thought of as 15th June)

30th June 1992: 4 youths and 3 others arrested in Gyama Trikhong protest (OIIR has 20th June)

6th July 1992: Disturbance during unofficial Dalai Lam birthday festivities near Lhasa; at least 2 and possibly seven arrests

12th August 1992: 13 nuns and others in demonstration in Barkor; several arrests

29th August 1992: about 20 monks and nuns demonstrate at 5pm during Shoton festival, in front of the "New Palace" in the Norbulingka (?); no arrests at time, four reported later.

[10th October 1992: About 800 Tibetans in Labrang, in present day Gansu province, hold a march to protest against insulting remarks by a Chinese historian]

[16-18 November, 1992: distribution of thousands of pro-independence leaflets in Ragya monastery, Golok, Qinghai]

#### 1993 Jan-Aug: 24 pro-independence protests plus 13 unconfirmed protests plus 4 other protests

1st January: Nyemo Middle School pupils in protest; two injured after police open fire; no arrests reported

[February: Labrang Tashikyil (Chinese: Xiahe, Gansu Province) conflict between Tibetans and Hui over siting of new mosque]

22nd February: protest in Taktee against police collaborator; includes pro-independence slogans; police open fire; no injuries or arrests reported

22 February: Losar incident involving 14 people in Gyama Trikhong, Medogungkar: 8 arrests on 4th and 6th May.

25th February: protest by nuns in Barkor; four or five believed arrested

9th March (1): six Ganden monks demonstrate in Barkor in the morning, three arrested, one carrying a flag beaten by police

9th March (2): seven monks later the same day at about 4pm demonstrate in the Barkor; all arrested.

10th March (1): four protesters shouted pro-independence slogans in front of the Jokhang Temple; all arrested.

10th March (2): seven monks, dressed in lay clothes, staged a demonstration near the Jokhang Temple; all arrested.

11th March: five or six monks, believed to be from Ganden monastery, staged a protest in the Barkor; all arrested.

12th March: when three monks in monastic robes staged a demonstration in the Barkor at 3pm; all arrested.

13th March: protest by nuns in Barkor; 3 nuns from Michungri arrested, including one aged 15.

March/April: protest in Rinchenling village, Draklok district, Medrogungkar; 3 arrests in last week of April

(April/May: incident in Nyemo Gyaltse [could be error for Gyantse?] no details but names of 3 arrestees known. Unconfirmed.)

[14th May: 100 students demonstrate at Tsathang No 1 Middle School about the poor conditions of the school and the lack of jobs for school leavers. All classes suspended]

[19th May: Flag flying over Jokhang.]

(23rd May: Sera monks arrested during or in advance of a planned protest; some say in the Barkor others in the monastery; unconfirmed.

24th May: "[Protest over prices involving up to 600 people in March to Government offices. Sit down outside Holiday Inn. Seven day shop strike begins.] By 6:30pm slogans are calling for independence and police are using teargas. Incident lasts from 11 or 12am till 9pm, with numbers involved estimated at around 1-2,000.

25th May: 12 am: 1-200 people in protest, dispersed by teargas.

28th May: 3pm: up to nine people, of whom three were monks from Sera, arrested in a protest in Barkor.

[(30th May: planned protest by students at Tibet University fails when students are locked into campus and threatened with expulsion - unconfirmed.)]

(May/June: possible incident in Tsathang Ga Lhakhang: 6 monks arrested. Unconfirmed.)

29th May: villagers in Kyimshi *xiang*, and monks from Sungrabling in Lhokha Gongkar (Upper Chideshol) stage demonstration (OIIR names the village as Nemo in Langthang in Lhokha Gongkar, and dates it to 20th June, describing the incident as dispute over election of head of the *xiang*). On 1st June villagers set up road blocks; army takes over on 28th June and arrests 18 people.

1st June: 7 people possibly including 3 Drepung monks and two girls who were bystanders who intervened arrested in a demonstration at 10.30 am; two groups of three each arrested later that morning.

(2nd June: about 40 workers from the Lhasa Cement Factory, carrying the Tibetan national flag dispersed with teargas before they can leave the factory compound. They 'had gathered to demonstrate for workers' rights to a proper salary and were also [shouting?] anti-Chinese slogans', said one source. Unconfirmed.)

(2nd June: pro-independence posters and Tibetan flags distributed in the three areas of Phu, Toe and Bhar (Upper, Middle and Lower) Chideshol in Lhokha; 18 monks arrested from Dunbu Choekor at about this time.)

4th June: 6 people arrested in three groups of 3, 2, and 1 people, carrying flags and shouting slogans, perhaps in three separate or related incidents all at about midday.

6th June: 3 monks arrested in Barkor with banner at about 1.50pm.

14th June: possible protest by nuns from Garu; unconfirmed; 12 nuns arrested.

[15th June: Shigatse protest against economic changes; unconfirmed.]

15th June: protest at 2 or 3pm by 5 Michungri nuns and 3 monks, one each from Sera, Ganden and Drepung, forestalled by police; 8 arrests; unconfirmed. (16th June: demonstration by monks in the Barkor with flag; 2 from Kyemorlung monastery arrested, according to OIIR; unconfirmed.)

[June: Samdrupling in Gyadrugling *xiang*, Lhokha Gongkar, monks protest against prices, troops sent, according to OIIR; unconfirmed.]

(June: Meldro Rinchenling, 12 arrests (7 monks, 5 farmers), according to OIIR; unconfirmed.)

26th June: demonstration in Nemo village, Phenpo Lhundrup county after police arrest teacher and raid local monastery; 200 soldiers arrest 4 people on 27th June. One source gives 5th July as the date of the incident.

(June/July: possible incident at Penpo involving hoisting Tibetan flag on roof of Penpo Farm Administration Office; deaths claimed in one report - unconfirmed.)

(1st July: 2 monks arrested in the Barkhor 2.30-3.00pm for having a Tibetan flag. Witnesses saw them taken away immediately in a vehicle. Unconfirmed)

(16th August: 3 monks and 1 nun protest at about 5.30pm in the Barkor and are beaten and arrested. Unconfirmed)

(17th August (1): two monks arrested outside Holiday Inn Hotel, western Lhasa, at 7 or 8am, reason unclear - unconfirmed)

17th August (2): four nuns from Phenpo arrested in Barkor after shouting slogans.

18th August: two or three people, probably monks, arrested after an incident at Norbulingka during the Shoton festival.

- end TIN News Compilation Part 1: Demonstrations -



## Tibet Information Network TIN News Compilation, October 1993

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#### Nun gets 7 Years for February 1992 Protest

TIN News Update/25th December, 1992/extract

Stiff sentences of between 5 and 7 years were imposed on three nuns and a monk, all aged under 23, who staged a peaceful demonstration in Lhasa in early 1992, according to an official court document obtained by TIN.

None of the Tibetans were accused of any offence besides taking part in a demonstration and shouting a pro-independence slogan. They had no lawyers to represent them in the trials and had to defend themselves.

The three nuns, who come from Michungri nunnery, 3 kilometres north west of Lhasa, staged a protest lasting a few minutes on 3rd February 1992 and were immediately arrested. They were tried and convicted on 6th August 1992. The document described the trial as open, but news of the trial reached the outside world only in December 1992.

The sentences were imposed, said the court, "in order to protect the dictatorship of the proletariat, to preserve the unification of the motherland, and to severely crack down on the criminal activities of the counter-revolutionaries in their attempts to separate the motherland".

The nuns were held for 10 weeks before they were charged with the crime of spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda. Lobsang Drolma, a 22 year old nun from Toelung Dechen, was identified as the "principal criminal" in the affair because she had "ganged up" with two other nuns from Michungri and suggested that they go to Lhasa to demonstrate the next day. Lobsang Drolma received a sentence of 7 years.

The two other nuns, Thrinley Chozom, aged 18, and Phuntsog Yangkyi, aged 19, were both treated as "minor offenders" and received 5 year sentences.

An 18 year old monk named Lobsang Chodrag from Nyemo Gyalche Monastery met the nuns when they arrived in Lhasa

on 2nd February. He heard about their plan and joined their protest; he was also sentenced to 5 years.

Two other nuns from Michungri, Lobsang Chozom and Sherab Ngawang, were found guilty of taking part in the protest, but the documents say only that their cases have been "dealt with elsewhere." Sherab Ngawang is known from other sources to have been only 12 years old, so was probably convicted by a special committee for juvenile cases. She is reported to have been still in Gutsa prison two months after the protest awaiting a sentence, but her current whereabouts is unknown. Juveniles in China can be given sentences of indeterminate length, which are subject to review at the earliest after six months, and then at no sooner than half-yearly intervals.

The 3rd February protest was a masterpiece of timing by the nuns: it was the eve of Chinese New Year and as they began their 11 am protest, the Governor of the Region, with the vice-mayor of Lhasa and some 15 other high officials, were paying a New Year visit to the Barkor Police station.

"By the time the group of officials was leaving the PSB station, suddenly they were faced with the demonstration, led by the nuns followed by the public and by the police from the two Barkor police stations. They were virtually fighting to arrest the demonstrators," said one unofficial account.

The nuns were grabbed by police, all of whom were male, and who "instantly folded their hands on their backs and forced them away." There was some public protest at the maltreatment of the demonstrators, and according to one source children from the local primary school joined with adults in shouting at the police.

#### Names and Sentences: Demonstrators Arrested 3rd February 1992

Lobsang Drolma, layname Dawa Tsedroen [Chinese: Dawasezhong], age 22, from Toelung Dechen, nun at Michungri: sentenced to 7 years, to be followed by 3 years deprivation of political rights.



Thinley Choezom, layname Gor-gyal [? Chinese: Guojil], age 18, from Meldrogungkar, nun at Michugri: sentenced to 5 years, with 2 years deprivation of political rights.

Phuntsog Yangkyl, layname Migzang [?Chinese: Mingzong], age 19, from Taktse, nun at Michugri: sentenced to 5 years, with 2 years deprivation of political rights.

Lobsang Choedrag, layname Thubten Norbu, age 18, from Nyemo, monk at Nyemo Gyalche monastery: sentenced to 5 years, with 2 years deprivation of political rights.

All four were detained on 3rd February, charged on 23rd April and sentenced on 3rd August 1992. Two others were detained on the same day and taken to Gutsa detention centre, but their current whereabouts are unknown.

Lobsang Choedron, believed to be aged 21 from Lhokha Dranang, nun at Michugri: sentence unknown.

Sherab Ngawang, believed to be aged 12 from Meldrogungkar, nun at Michugri: sentence unknown.

### 3rd August Trial: Court Judgment Against Lobsang Dorje and Others

The trial of Lobsang Dorje and three of the other five who demonstrated on 3rd February 1992 apparently took place on 3rd August 1992. This translation of the judgment passed upon them is derived from the official court decision printed on 3 pages in Chinese and dated 6th August 1992 [TIN Ref: 12[XVII].

#### Tibet Autonomous Region Lhasa Intermediate People's Court Criminal Sentencing Document Number 29, 1992

Public prosecutor: Gelaiwangzha [Gelek Wangdrag], prosecutor of the Lhasa People's Procuracy, Tibet Autonomous Region.

Defendant: Luosangzhuoma [Lobsang Drolma] (commonly known as Dawasezhong [Dawa Tsedron?], female, 22, Tibetan, from Duilongdeqing [Toelung Dechen], Tibet, was a nun living at Miqiongri [Michungri] nunnery in Lhasa. She was detained for examination by the Lhasa Municipal Public Security Bureau on 3rd February 1992 for [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda, and on 23rd April of the same year she was arrested according to law. She is currently under arrest.

Defendant: Chiliequzong [Thinley Choezom] (commonly known as Guoji [Gor-gyal?], female, 18, Tibetan, from Muozhugongka [Meldrogungkar] county, Tibet, is a nun living in Miqiongri [Michungri] nunnery in Lhasa. She was detained for examination by the Lhasa Municipal Public Security Bureau on 3rd February 1992 on account of [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda. She was arrested according to law on 23rd April of the same year and she is currently under arrest.

Defendant: Pingcuoyangji [Phuntsog Yangkyl] (commonly known as Mingzong [Minzong or Mingzang?], female, 19, from Dazi [Taktse] county, Tibet, a nun living at Lhasa Miqiongri [Michungri] nunnery. Detained by Lhasa Municipal Public Security Bureau on account of [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda on 3rd February 1992. Arrested according to law on 23rd April of the same year, and now under arrest.

Defendant: Luosangquzha [Lobsang Choedrag] (commonly known as Tudengluobu [Thubten Norbu], male, 18, Tibetan, from Nimu [Nyemo] county in Tibet. He is a lama living at Nimu Gegin [Nyemo Gyache] monastery. Detained on 3rd February 1992 on account of [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda by the Lhasa Municipal Public Security Bureau. Arrested on 23rd April the same year and now under arrest.

The case of [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda by the defendants Luosangzhuoma, Chiliequzong, Pingcuoyangji and Luosangquzha was brought to our court and prosecuted by the Lhasa People's Procuracy. This court convened a joint session according to law. An open trial was held with Gelaiwangzha [Gelek Wangdrag] as public prosecutor and

the defendants themselves to argue on their own behalf. The court proclaimed the following:

On 1st February 1992, the defendant Luosangzhuoma ganged up with Chiliequzong and Pingcuoyangji to hold an illegal demonstration in Lhasa, and the latter two then agreed. The next day the three defendants went down from Miqiongri [Michungri] nunnery and met the nuns Luosangquzhong [Lobsang Choedron] and Xiraorwang [Sherab Ngawang] (who are dealt with in another case) from the same nunnery in a small temple in "Kangangdong" in Lhasa. They decided to hold a demonstration in the morning of 3rd February. When the defendant Luosangquzha learned that they were going to hold a demonstration, he announced that he would like to join as well. The next morning the defendants arrived in Bajiaolang [Barkor] street and started an illegal demonstration from "Dongersu" [Dongchen Sur] shouting the slogan "Tibet is Independent".

All the above evidence and facts are true and in addition the defendants admitted to it.

This court believes: that the defendants Luosangzhuoma, Chiliequzong, Pingcuoyangji and Luosangquzha undertook an illegal demonstration with counter-revolutionary intent. They must bear criminal responsibility. Their crime is great. Luosangzhuoma is the principal criminal and must be punished severely, the defendants Chiliequzong, Pingcuoyangji and Luosangquzha are minor criminals and must be sentenced less severely than the principal person. In order to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to protect the socialist system, to preserve the unification of the motherland, and to severely crack down on counter-revolutionary activities, the following sentences are now announced according to Articles 102, 52, 22, 23 and 24 of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China:

The defendant Luosangzhuoma [Lobsang Drolma] committed the crime of [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda, and is sentenced to 7 years imprisonment, with deprivation of political rights for 3 years (the sentence to last from 3rd February 1992 to 2nd February 1999, thus including the time of detention before the sentence).

The defendant Chiliequzong [Thinley Choezom] committed the crime of [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda and is sentenced to 5 years imprisonment, with deprivation of political rights for 2 years (the sentence to last from 3rd February 1992 to 2nd February 1997, thus including the time of detention before the sentence).

The defendant Pingcuoyangji [Phuntsog Yangkyl] committed the crime of [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda and is sentenced to 5 years imprisonment, with deprivation of political rights for 2 years (the sentence to last from 3rd February 1992 to 2nd February 1997, thus including the time of detention before the sentence).

The defendant Luosangquzha [Lobsang Choedrag] committed the crime of [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda and is sentenced to 5 years imprisonment, with deprivation of political rights for 2 years (the sentence to last from 3rd February 1992 to 2nd February 1997, thus including the time of detention before the sentence).

If not satisfied with the sentence, they can lodge an appeal either orally or in writing to the Tibet Autonomous Region Higher People's Court within 10 days from the second day of receiving sentence.

3rd August 1992  
Criminal Court [Division]  
Lhasa Municipal Intermediate People's Court  
Tibet Autonomous Region  
Director of trial: Li Shuqing  
Trial conducted by [Shenpanyuan]: Danzenggongga [Tenzin Gongkar]  
Trial conducted by: Chen Jie  
Date: 6 August 1992  
Clerk: Jinmei [Jigme?]

## Up to 9 Years in Prison for May 1992 Protestors

TIN News Update/25 December, 1992/extract

A total of 6 Tibetans who took part in a protest in Lhasa in May 1992 have been sentenced to an average of over 6 years each in prison.

Sentences of up to 9 years were handed down in a trial in September for a protest which was peaceful and lasted only a few minutes, according to official Chinese court documents obtained in December 1992 by the Tibet Information Network, an independent monitoring organisation based in London.

The longest sentence went to a 20 year old monk from Phurchok Hermitage named Lobsang Dorje, accused of encouraging two colleagues to demonstrate outside the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa at 4 pm on 16th May 1992.

The 16th May demonstration was the fourth street protest to take place in Lhasa that week. At least 30 people were arrested that week, but their whereabouts remain unknown.

Lobsang Dorje was sentenced on 16th September 1992 by the Lhasa Municipal People's Intermediate Court to 9 years imprisonment. The documents described the trial as open, but there was no public announcement of the trial and this was the first news of the sentences to reach the outside world.

Another monk from the same hermitage, situated 3 kilometres north of Lhasa, 20 year old Lobsang Sherab, received an 8 year sentence.

Lobsang Lodrup, age 20, and Thubten Kelsang, age 18, 2 other Phurchok monks, received sentences of 7 years and 6 years respectively.

Ngawang Tenzin, a 23 year old nun from Chubsang nunnery, and Rinchen Dawa, a 25 year old layman from Lhasa, were both described as minor offenders, because they had arrived late for the demonstration and thus followed the other four, according to the official accounts. They were sentenced to five years each.

"While shouting the reactionary slogan 'Tibetan Independence'... the defendants marched to the north part of Bakuo street, where they were caught on the spot by our police," says a document giving details of the crime committed by the 6 demonstrators.

In fact the incident was considerably more tense than suggested by the official account. The detainees were beaten inside the Barkor police station immediately after arrest, and a large, mainly silent crowd gathered outside the building, apparently to deter further violence.

"At about 4.15 pm we saw hundreds of Tibetans staring at the new PSB station, near Plaza," a Tibetan eyewitness told TIN. "I was told that there had just been a demonstration and the demonstrators had been taken away by police. One group had been loaded into a Public Security Bureau [PSB] van and taken away, but a few more were still inside the PSB station. That is why people were staring at the PSB station.

"Then I saw three protestors being taken away in another PSB van. Their heads were dressed and blood was coming from their mouths and faces. These ones I saw. On-lookers I spoke to said that the ones loaded into the other PSB van were unconscious."

The protestors were held without charge for 13 weeks before they were charged on 21st August with the crime of "counter-revolutionary propaganda", as defined in Article 102 of the Chinese Criminal Code.

The article bans the use of "slogans, leaflets or other means propagandising for and inciting the overthrow of the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system".

The sentences were imposed, according to the court, "in order to protect the dictatorship of the proletariat, to preserve the unification of the motherland, and to severely crack down on the criminal activities of the counter-revolutionaries in their attempts to separate the motherland."

### Names and Sentences: Demonstrators Arrested 16th May 1992

Lobsang Dorje, layname Kelsang Wangdu, age 20, from Kelsang village, Songban xiang (township), Lhundrup county, monk at Phurchok Hermitage: sentenced to 9 years with 4 years deprivation of political rights.

Lobsang Sherab, layname Kelsang Lhundrup, age 20, from Changye (Chinese: Qiangye) xiang, Lhundrup county, monk at Phurchok Hermitage: sentenced to 8 years with 3 years deprivation of political rights.

Lobsang Lodrup, layname Palden, age 20, from Songba (sic) xiang, Lhundrup county, monk at Phurchok Hermitage: sentenced to 7 years with 2 years deprivation of political rights.

Thubten Kelsang, layname Penba, age 18, from Village Number 6 of Kangga xiang, Taktsa county, monk at Nor (Chinese: Luo) monastery, Taktsa county: sentenced to 6 years with 2 or 3 years (original gives both figures) deprivation of political rights.

Ngawang Tenzin, layname Rinzen Wangmo, age 23, from Jorenang (Chinese: Qurelang) village, Retseng (Chinese: Re Zeng) xiang, Lhundrup county, nun at Chubsang nunnery: sentenced to 5 years with 2 years deprivation of political rights. Named by unofficial sources as Namdrol Kunchok.

Rinchen Dawa, farmer, age 25, female, from Retseng (Chinese: Re Zeng) xiang, Lhundrup county, (used to live in Neighbourhood No. 3 in Lhasa): sentenced to 5 years with 2 years deprivation of political rights.

These six prisoners were detained on 16th May 1992, charged on 21st August 1992 and sentenced on 16th September 1992.

### Text of Prosecution Case Against Lobsang Dorje and 5 Others

This is a translation of the official Tibetan text of the prosecution document prepared by the Lhasa Municipal Procuracy against Lobsang Dorje and 5 others for taking part in a demonstration on 16th May 1992. The original document, printed on 3 pages in Tibetan, was issued on 23rd August 1992. (TIN ref: 8(YA))

### Document of the Lhasa City People's Procuracy Supervision of Criminal Case, Document No. 29 (92)

#### Defendants:

(1) Name: Kelsang Wangdu (skal bzang dbang 'dus)

Religious Name: Lobsang Dorje (slob bzang rdo rje)

Sex: Male

Nationality: Tibetan

Age: 20

Residence: Lhundrup District

Occupation: Monk

(2) Name: Kelsang Lhundrup (skal bzang lhun grub)

Religious Name: Lobsang Sherab (slo bzang shas rab)

Sex: Male

Nationality: Tibetan

Age: 20

Residence: Lhundrup District

Occupation: Monk

(3) Name: Penpa (spen pa)

Religious Name: Thupten Kelsang (thub bstan skal bzang)

Sex: Male

Nationality: Tibetan

(4) Name: Palden (dba'a ldan)

Religious Name: Lobsang Ludup (slo bzang lu sgrub)

Sex: Male  
Nationality: Tibetan  
Age: 20  
Residence: Lhundrup District  
Occupation: Monk

(5) Name: **Rinchen Wangmo** [rin 'dzin dbang mo]  
Sex: Female  
Nationality: Tibetan  
Age: 23  
Residence: Lhundrup District

(6) Name: **Rinchen Dawa** [rin 'dzin zla wa]  
Sex: Female  
Nationality: Tibetan  
Age: 25  
Residence: Lhundrup District

Case: Counter-revolutionary activities. As a result of spreading incitement to counter-revolution, the above defendants were summoned to the Lhasa City Security Bureau on 16th May 1992, for investigation. In accordance with the law and by permission of this Investigative Committee, the defendants were arrested on 26th August 1992 and are now in prison.

Findings: A case of spreading counter-revolutionary incitement against the aforesaid defendants was brought to this Procuracy [literally, Investigative Committee] for further examination by the Lhasa Security Bureau as a result of their investigations. We have done thorough investigations and found the following facts:

On 16th May 1992 the defendants Kelsang Wangdu, Kelsang Lhundrup, Penpa and Palden staged several protests in front of the main temple [the Jokhang], and from Gang-gyen Kangsa shouting counter-revolutionary slogans such as "Tibet is Independent". The defendants Rinchen Wangmo and Rinchen Dawa also shouted the same reactionary slogan and were arrested by the security officer[s].

The above crimes were proven beyond doubt by reliable witnesses and furthermore were admitted by the defendants.

This Investigative Committee recognised that defendants' activities are in gross violation of the People's Republic of China Criminal Code, section 2 of section 102 of counter-revolution. In accordance with the People's Republic of China's Penal Code No 100, we submit this law suit against the aforementioned defendants with a request to give appropriate punishment.

Submitted to: Lhasa City Intermediate Court  
By: Acting Investigative Officer, Nyima Tsering  
Dated: 23rd August 1992

#### Notes [items of evidence]:

(1) The defendants are remanded in the custody of the Lhasa Security Bureau.

(2) One file of [documents concerning the] law case.

16th September Trial: Text of Court Judgement Against Lobsang Dorje and Others

The official court decision or sentencing document was issued on 16th September 1992, and consisted of 4 pages printed in Chinese.  
[TIN ref: 18(XVI)]

**TAR Lhasa Municipal Intermediate People's Court  
Criminal Sentencing Document No. 37 1992**

**Office of the Public Procurator: TAR Lhasa Municipal  
People's Procuracy**

Defendant: Luosangduoji (**Lobsang Dorje**), commonly known as Gesangwangdui (Kelsang Wangdu), male, born in 1972,

from Gesang "cun" [village], Songban xiang [township], Linzhou [Lhundrup] county in Tibet. He is a "zhaba" [(Tibetan) monk] living at Pujiao [Phurchok] monastery. He was detained on account of counter-revolutionary propaganda on 16th May 1992. He was arrested on 21st August 1992 after approval from the TAR Lhasa People's Procuracy. He is under arrest.

Defendant: Luosangxirao (**Lobsang Sherab**), commonly known as Gesanglungzhu (Kelsang Lhundrup), born in 1972, Tibetan, is from Qiangge [Changye?] xiang, Linzhou [Lhundrup] county. Before being arrested he was living in Pujiao [Phurchok] monastery as a "zhaba" [monk]. He was detained by the Lhasa Municipal Public Security Bureau on account of [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda on 16th May 1992. After approval by the TAR Lhasa People's Procuracy he was arrested on 21st August 1992 and he is now under arrest.

Defendant: Luosangluozhu (**Lobsang Lodrup**), commonly known as Bandeng [Palden], male, born in 1972, Tibetan, is from Songba [sic] xiang of Linzhou [Lhundrup] county in Tibet. Before arrest he lived in Pujiao [Phurchok] monastery as a "zhaba" [monk]. On 16th May 1992 he was detained by the Lhasa Public Security Bureau on account of [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda on 16th May. After approval on 20th August by the TAR Lhasa Municipal People's Procuracy he was arrested and he is now under arrest.

Defendant: Tudenggesang (**Thubten Kelsang**), commonly known as Bianba [Penba], male, Tibetan, born in 1974, from village Number 6 of Kangga xiang of Dazi [Taktse] county in Tibet, is living at Luo [Lor? Nor?] monastery in Dazi [Taktse] county. Because of [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda he was detained and examined on 16th May 1992 by the Lhasa Municipal Public Security Bureau for investigation. After approval from the TAR Lhasa Municipal People's Procuracy he was arrested on 21st August 1992 and he is now under arrest.

Defendant: Arwangdanzeng (**Ngawang Tenzin**), commonly known as Renzengwangmu [Rinzen Wangmo], female, born in 1969, Tibetan, from Qu Relang [Kyü Renang? Jyorengang?] "cun", Re Zeng [Retzen?] xiang in Linzhou [Lhundrup] county of Tibet, is a nun living in Qusang [Chubsang] nunnery. She was detained for examination by the Lhasa Public Security Bureau on 16th May 1992 on account of [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda, and after approval from TAR Lhasa People's Procuracy she was arrested on 21st August 1992.

Defendant: Renqingdawa (**Rinchen Dawa**), born in 1967, Tibetan, from Rezeg [Retzen?] xiang, Linzhou [Lhundrup] county, peasant, [sic] he used to live in No. 3 Neighbourhood Committee [area] of Lhasa. [S]he was detained by the Lhasa Municipal Public Security Bureau for examination on 16th May 1992 on account of [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda. After approval by the TAR Lhasa Municipal People's Procuracy [sic] she was arrested on 21st August 1992 and is now under arrest.

The TAR Lhasa People's Procuracy prosecuted before this court on 5th September 1992 the defendants Luosangduoji, Luosangxirao, Luosangluozhu, Tudengluozhu [sic - this name appears to be a clerical error - TIN], Tudenggesang, Arwangdanzeng and Renqingdawa who committed the crime of [spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda. After trial, this court held a joint session according to the law and held an open trial. Nimacien [Nyima Tsering] and Gelaiwangzha [Gelek Wangdrag], public prosecutors from the TAR Lhasa Municipal People's Procuracy, stood up in court to support the public prosecution, and the defendants Luosangduoji, Luosangxirao, Luosangluozhu, Tudenggesang, Arwangdanzeng and Renqingdawa arrived in court to take part in the prosecution. After the joint trial, the process is now over.



The TAR Lhasa Municipal People's Procuracy Prosecution Document No. 29 (1992) denounced the defendants Luosangduoji, Luosangxirao, Tudenggesang and Luosangluozhu for getting together in the Dazhao [Jokhang] square of Lhasa on 16th May 1992. They then went on a demonstration and shouted slogans for Tibetan independence. The defendants Arwangdanzeng and Renqingdawa followed them and were caught on the spot by our Public Security personnel. During the opening trial, all the above defendants admitted to the criminal facts that were alleged against them.

It is now confirmed by the court that on the morning of 15th May 1992 the defendants Luosangduoji and Luosangxirao arrived in Lhasa from Pujiao [Phurchok] monastery and stayed in the Balangxue [Banakshol] hotel on that evening. The following afternoon they met Luosangluozhu and Tudenggesang in the Dazhao [Jokhang] square. The defendant Luosangduoji encouraged them to hold a demonstration and waited there for Arwangdanzeng and Renqingdawa to start the illegal demonstration at around 4.00 pm in the afternoon while shouting the reactionary slogan "Tibetan Independence. When the above defendants marched to the north street of the Bakuo [Barkor] street, they were caught on the spot by our police. All defendants admitted to the above crimes.

This court believes that the defendants Luosangduoji, Luosangxirao, Tudenggesang, Luosangluozhu, Arwangdanzeng and Renqingdawa instigated "Tibetan Independence" with counter-revolutionary intent in an attempt to separate the motherland. Their behaviour already violated the law and their crimes [consisted of spreading] counter-revolutionary propaganda. Their crimes are serious. During the course of the crime, the defendant Luosangduoji functioned as the main person, and is the principal criminal and should be punished severely; defendants Luosangxirao, Tudenggesang, Luosangluozhu, Arwangdanzeng and Renqingdawa are minor criminals and should be punished more lightly than the major criminals. In order to protect the dictatorship of the proletariat, to preserve the unification of the motherland, to severely crack down on the criminal activities of the counter-revolutionaries [in their attempts] to separate the motherland, the following sentences are announced according to Articles 102, 22, 23, 24 and 52 of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China:

(1) The defendant Luosangduoji [**Lobsang Dorje**] committed the crime of counter-revolutionary propaganda and is sentenced to **9 years** with deprivation of political rights for 4 years.

(2) The defendant Luosangxirao [**Lobsang Sherab**] committed the crime of counter-revolutionary propaganda and is sentenced to **8 years** imprisonment with deprivation of political rights for 3 years.

(3) The defendant Luosangluozhu [**Lobsang Lodrup**] committed the crime of counter-revolutionary propaganda and is sentenced to **7 years** imprisonment, with deprivation of political rights for 2 years.

(4) The defendant Tudenggesang [**Thubten Kelsang**] committed the crime of counter-revolutionary propaganda and is sentenced to **6 years** with deprivation of political rights for two years, with deprivation of political rights for three years [sic].

(5) The defendant Arwangdanzeng [**Ngawamg Tenzin**] committed the crime of counter-revolutionary propaganda and is sentenced to **5 years** imprisonment with deprivation of political rights for 2 years.

(6) The defendant Renqingdawa [**Rinchen Dawa**] committed the crime of counter-revolutionary propaganda and is sentenced to **5 years** imprisonment, with deprivation of political rights for 2 years.

If not satisfied with this sentence, the defendants can appeal within 10 days from the second day of receiving the sentencing document through this court or directly to the TAR Higher People's Court. When appealing in written form they should produce a master copy of the appeal, and 3 other copies.

Director of the trial: Arwangsulang [Ngawmag Soman]  
Trial conducted by: Li Shuiqing  
Trial also conducted by: Hu Jun

16th September 1992  
Clerk: Danzenggongga [Tenzin Gongkar]

## Monks Sentenced for up to 8 Years for June 1992 Protest

TIN News Update/18th September 1993

It has taken over a year to find out what happened to 4 Tibetans who were arrested and beaten during a demonstration in June 1992. Now sources in Tibet have located the four men in Drapchi Prison, Lhasa, where they are serving sentences of between 5 and 8 years for their protest, which probably lasted only a few minutes.

An official document obtained from Tibet by TIN, an independent monitoring organisation based in London, shows that the men were arrested and tried as counter-revolutionary criminals about 3 months after the demonstration.

The trial was kept secret, and for over a year no-one in the outside world - and few people in Tibet - seem to have known what had happened to the 4 men. The exact date of the trial is still unknown. But now unofficial sources in Lhasa have revealed that the trial judge sentenced the men for up to 8 years.

The official document, issued by the Lhasa Municipal Procuracy on 14th August 1992 to outline the prosecution case against the 4 Tibetans, says the men had committed an act of "counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement".

The 4 men, aged between 18 and 24, are all monks at Ganden monastery who come originally from the rural area of Meldrogungkar which is close to the monastery, some 40 miles east of Lhasa. Their names are given as Tenzin Dragpa, Lobsang Yaphel, Tenzin Wangdu, and Lobsang Dragdul.

Tibetan sources said at the time of the arrest that the protestors had been beaten during arrest and were bleeding from the nose and mouth when they were taken away by police.

The Procurator in the case, a Tibetan named Gelek Wangdrag, accused the 4 monks of meeting together on the night of 9th June in Tenzin Dragpa's room, where they made a copy of the Tibetan national flag, which is illegal under Chinese law.

The next day, 10th June, the four went to Lhasa and staged a pro-independence demonstration in the Jokhang Square, according to the 3-page prosecution document, which is printed in Tibetan and stamped with the official seal of the Lhasa Procuracy.

A couple of the men were arrested in the Square after they started to shout pro-independence slogans. A further two escaped arrest at the time, but it took police just 3 days to track them down: they were arrested in Meldrogungkar on 13th June 1992, according to the document.

The Procurator, Gelek Wangdrag, wrote that the men had broken Chinese law in three ways: they had carried a Tibetan flag, they had staged a demonstration, and they had

shouted reactionary slogans. All these actions were "counter-revolutionary" crimes, according to the official document, which says that the 4 men had confessed to their crimes.

There has never been any public statement by the Chinese authorities admitting to the arrest or trial of the 4 men - the Chinese authorities in Tibet stopped issuing public statements describing the trials or arrests of political dissidents in Tibet 3 years ago, in March 1990.

But an unofficial report, considered reliable, received from Tibet in August 1993 reveals that the men received sentences averaging 6.5 years for their demonstration, which lasted only a few minutes.

**Tenzin Dragpa**, aged 24, was accused of being the leader or initiator of the protest, and received an 8 year sentence, according to the unofficial report. **Lobsang Yarphel** was sentenced to 7 years in prison, while **Tenzin Wangdu** and **Lobsang Dradul** received sentences of 6 years and 5 years respectively, according to the report. The men are said to be in Lhasa's Drapchi prison.

#### One Year Before Outside Learns of Prison Sentences

It took nearly a year for any details of the sentences given to the June 1992 protestors to reach the outside world, and still nothing is known about the people who took part in other protests on the same day. The decision of the Chinese authorities to hand out such long sentences remains a mystery - there is no apparent reason why these men received over 5 years each in prison for their few moments of shouting, while other protestors have received 2 or 3 years in labour camps for what appear to be similar acts of dissent.

There were at least 2 or possibly 3 demonstrations in the Barkor on 10th June 1992. In the first incident that day, at about 11.00 am, the 4 monks were arrested in the Barkor after shouting pro-independence slogans. The monks were badly beaten by police, according to Tibetan sources in Lhasa.

"During the arrest they were severely beaten and were bleeding badly from the nose and the mouth," said a Tibetan in Lhasa.

A traveller claimed a similar incident had taken place at 3.00 pm on the same day, and there were also reports of a brief disturbance at 7.00 pm the same evening. But the protest staged by Tenzin Dragpa and his 3 colleagues was probably the one that happened in the morning.

A couple of days later, on 12th June 1992, a senior official in Tibet called for a tougher policy to "resolutely smash any enemy forces' vicious attempts to split our motherland". Chen Kuiyuan, then deputy chief of the Party in Tibet and now regional Party leader, was quoted in the official paper *Tibet Daily* as saying that "the separatist forces never resign themselves to defeat, so the policy of being tough with both hands should be upheld."

According to a UPI report on 23rd June, Chen also noted that some party members "turn a blind eye to separatism" and called for "intensified education" for party members and for the general public.

#### Names and Sentences for the 10th June Protestors

**Tenzin Dragpa** (bstan-sdzin grags-pa), layname Tsering Bagdro (tshen-ring bags-gro), aged 24, monk at Ganden, from Meldrogungkar county, Lhasa Prefecture, sentenced to 8 years.

**Lobsang Yarphel** (blo-bzang yar-'phel), layname Penpa (spen-pa), aged 20, monk at Ganden, from Meldrogungkar county, Lhasa Prefecture, sentenced to 7 years.

**Tenzin Wangdu** (bstan-'dzin dbang-'dus), layname Dondrup (don-grub), aged 19, monk at Ganden, from Meldrogungkar county, Lhasa Prefecture, sentenced to 6 years.

**Lobsang Dradul** (blo-bzang dgra-'dul), layname Lobsang Gyatso, (blo-bzang gyat-mtsho), aged 18, monk at Ganden, from Meldrogungkar county, Lhasa Prefecture, sentenced to 5 years.

#### Text of Prosecution Case Against Tenzin Dragpa and 3 Others (TIN ref. 17(XV))

#### Prosecution by Lhasa City People's Procuracy Lhasa Municipal People's Procuracy Prosecution Document No 32 (1992)

**Defendant: Tenzin Dragpa** (bstan sdzin grags pa), layname Tsering Bagdro (bags gro), male, aged 25, resident of Meldrogungkar district. [Received] middle school education and is a monk at Ganden monastery.

**Case:** As a result of counter-revolutionary (gsar brjer ngo rgol) propaganda (dril bsgrags) and instigation on 10th June 1992 he was interrogated by Lhasa Security Bureau. According to the law and with the approval of our Investigative Committee [Procuracy], he was arrested on 30th July 1992 and is now in prison.

**Defendant: Lobsang Yarphel** (yar 'phel), layname Penpa, male, Tibetan nationality, aged 20, resident of Meldrogungkar district. [Received] primary school education and is a monk at Ganden monastery.

**Case:** As a result of counter-revolutionary propaganda and instigation on 13th [sic] June 1992 he was interrogated by Lhasa Security Bureau. According to the law and with the approval of our Investigative Committee [Procuracy], he was arrested on 30th July 1992 and is now in prison.

**Defendant: Tenzin Wangdu** (dbang 'dus), layname Dondrup, male, Tibetan nationality, aged 19, resident of Meldrogungkar district. [Received] primary school education and is a monk at Ganden monastery.

**Case:** As a result of counter-revolutionary propaganda and instigation on 13th June 1992 he was interrogated by Lhasa Security Bureau. According to the law and with the approval of our Investigative Committee [Procuracy], he was arrested on 30th July 1992 and is now in prison.

**Defendant: Lobsang Dradul** (dgra 'dul, layname Lobsang Gyatso, male, Tibetan nationality, aged 18, resident of Meldrogungkar. [Received] primary school education and is a monk at Ganden monastery.

**Case:** As a result of counter-revolutionary propaganda and instigation on 10th June 1992 he was interrogated by Lhasa Security Bureau. According to the law and with the approval of our Investigative Committee [Procuracy], he was arrested on 30th July 1992 and is now in prison.

**Defendants Tenzin Dragpa, Lobsang Yarphel, Tenzin Wangdu and Lobsang Dradul** were charged with involvement in counter-revolutionary propaganda and instigation. After interrogation by the Lhasa Security Bureau, a law suit was brought against the aforesaid defendants to our Investigative Committee [Procuracy] for prosecution. We found the following evidence of criminal activity:

On the night of 9th June 1992, at Tenzin Dragpa's house, the defendants Tenzin Dragpa, Lobsang Yarphel, Tenzin Wangdu and Lobsang Dradul decided to stage a demonstration in Lhasa, and made a "snow mountain and lion" flag. On 10th June 1992 the above defendants came to Lhasa and staged the demonstration [on the big ground] in the square of the cathedral, carried the "snow mountain and lion" flag and shouted the reactionary slogan, "Tibet is Independent". At that very moment the defendants Tenzin Dragpa and Lobsang Dradul were arrested by our Security Officer(s). The defendants Tenzin Wangdu and Lobsang

Yarphel were arrested at Meldrogungkar on 13th June 1992.

With the testimony of reliable witnesses and the defendants' own confessions the above criminal charges were proved.

Our Investigative Committee [Procuracy] considers that by carrying a "snow mountain and [snow] lion" flag, taking part in an illegal demonstration, and using reactionary slogans, they have violated the "People's Republic of China's Criminal Code", article 102, section 2, in [the category dealing with] counter-revolutionary crime. In order to protect the law and the unity of the motherland, as per the "People's Republic of China's Criminal Law", article 100, we submit this law suit to your court for sentence.

[Official Stamp]

Dated 14th August 1992

Gelek Wangdrag, Acting Procurator,  
Lhasa City Intermediate Investigation Committee [Procuracy]

Notes [items of evidence]:

1) The defendants are at present in the custody of Lhasa Security Bureau.

2) [Attached] one court case document.

#### Tibetan Farmers Get up to 15 Years in Prison

TIN News Update/21st January 1993 revised

Prison sentences of between 13 and 15 years have been delivered to 5 Tibetan farmers for their part in a peaceful protest in a Tibetan village last year, according to official documents obtained from Tibet.

One man who received a 15 year sentence did not even take part in the actual protest, according to the reports.

The sentences, which were handed down by a Lhasa court on 1st November 1992 but never publicly announced, are the longest recorded for political offences in Tibet since 1990.

The average sentence received by Tibetan political activists since 1988 had been just over 7.5 years, according to western monitoring agencies, apart from 2 who were executed.

Information about rural unrest in Tibet is scarce, and this is the first time details of punishments imposed on Tibetans involved in protests outside Lhasa have reached the outside world.

The unusual severity of the sentences appears to reflect Chinese concern about the increasing political involvement of lay Tibetans in the countryside, where 88% of Tibetans live.

The arrests followed a pro-independence demonstration involving at least 100 people on 30th June 1992 in the Gyama district of Meldro Gungkar county, a rural area 60 kilometres east of Lhasa.

The incident began when 4 men, all of them 23 year old farmers from Dashar, one of the neighbourhoods or villages within Gyama district, interrupted a political education meeting by marching onto the platform and displaying the Tibetan national flag, possession of which is a criminal offence in China.

"They were shouting pro-Tibet slogans such as "Tibet is Independent", and they were walking towards the platform," an eyewitness has told Tibet Information Network.

"The meeting was completely disrupted as some people followed the protestors, pretending to be spectators, while some were just shocked and others ran away to avoid dangerous consequences."

The eyewitness, who has asked not to be named, said that the 4 farmers took over the meeting, so that "the leaders of the meeting escaped from the left side of the platform as the protestors approached the right hand side."

From the platform the farmers turned to face the public and displayed their flag, which was apparently ornamented with a picture of the Dalai Lama in the middle, the words "May Independent Tibet live for thousands of years" on the right side, and a white Tibetan blessing scarf on the top.

The leader of the protest, Konchok Lodro, and 2 of his associates, Sonam Rinchen and Sonam Dorje, were said to have been sentenced to 13 years in prison, according to unofficial accounts of the November trial, which was held in Lhasa. But the official court documents, obtained by TIN, show that in fact Kuncho Lodro and Sonam Dorje were regarded as followers not leaders, and so received 13 year sentences. Sonam Rinchen was seen as the leader of the protest and received a 15 year sentence.

The fourth flag-bearer, named as Lhundrup or Lhundrup Dorje, aged 23 from Dashar, also received a 15 year sentence, possibly because during the protest he had tried to resist attempts by armed police to pull the flag away from the demonstrators.

According to the eyewitness in the struggle, during which the police did manage to take the flag, Lhundrup was badly injured with a rifle butt.

The court documents show that 6 days earlier, on 24th June 1992, Lhundrup and Thubten Yeshe, had "together made a flag of the Snow Mountain and Snow Lion" which "they decided to fly over the Chama [Gyama] village people's government building."

The 4 men were arrested and beaten by the Armed Police but "continued to shout Tibetan independence slogans as they were dragged towards the village", according to the eyewitness.

"As they were taken through the village entrance the emotions of the crowd were running so high that about 100 people followed them, shouting 'Tibet is Independent'", he added.

Armed Police were later stationed "both near and inside the village to monitor security, so that nothing more happened", said the reporter.

#### Older Man Gets 15 Year Sentence

One of the longest sentences appears to have been given to a local man who did not take part in the flag-waving incident.

Thubten Yeshe, a 41 year old farmer from the same village, was arrested on 1st July 1992, the day following the protest, after 6 vehicles carrying security officers and legal cadres from Lhasa arrived in Dashar village and searched the houses of the arrested men.

Thubten Yeshe was arrested "on the charge of co-operating with the demonstrators", according to a local source, and is reported to have received a 15 year sentence. The reasons for the severity of his sentence are unknown, but Chinese courts often reserve the strictest penalties for older people or people in positions of influence.

The court judgements says that Thubten Yeshe made 3 pro-independence posters and hung them on a tree, and also



planned with Lhundrup to fly a Tibetan flag from the local government offices.

A couple of other men from Gyama were briefly detained on 2nd July 1992 for involvement in the protest. **Lhaksam**, 27, from Neighbourhood No. 7, had shouted slogans at the police during the arrest of the 4 flag-bearers but was released on 16th August 1992. **Samten Gyatso**, 24, from Dasher, accused of having helped to make the flag, was released on 22nd August 1992.

#### **Detained for Wall Posters - Whereabouts Unknown**

The whereabouts of 3 men from the nearby village of Trikhang, arrested in March 1992 for distributing wall posters calling for independence and opposing local mining projects, are still unknown.

**Karma**, a 42 year old farmer, arrested on 17th March 1992, had been held for some months in 1990 for a similar offence. **Monlam**, a 22 year old farmer, and **Gyatso**, a 22 year old carpenter, were arrested on 18th March 1992, and are known to have still been in custody in July.

The Chinese government told the UN last November that there were no records of the 3 men being held in any prison, a formula which Beijing has used to refer to detainees held in detention centres or labour re-education camps, which are not considered prisons by the Chinese.

According to an unofficial report from Gyama last July, the 3 men had been held "in the custody of the district security forces, undergoing unspeakable torture and beatings, for the last 4 months".

#### **Text of Prosecution Case Against Thubten Yeshe and 5 Others**

The Lhasa Municipal Intermediate Procuracy issued the findings of its investigations into the 6 prisoners on 22nd September 1992. 10 weeks after the prisoners were detained by the police. The Prosecution document, signed by Procurator Tashi Norbu, was printed in Tibetan over 3 pages, and stamped on the last page with the official seal of the Lhasa Municipal Intermediate People's Procuracy. Although Meldro Gyama is a rural area 40 km away from the city of Lhasa it walls within what the Chinese call the "municipal" area of Lhasa (TIN Ref: 5(XV))

#### **Lhasa Municipal Public Procuracy [literally, Investigation Bureau] Document Procuracy [Investigation] Document Reference No. 36 (1992)**

**Defendant: Thubten Yeshe**

**Sex: Male**

**Nationality: Tibetan**

**Present Age: 42**

**District: Meldrogungkar County**

**[Class:] poor farming family, primary standard education**

On 6th July 1992 the City Police Department detained and investigated him on the charges of spreading propaganda regarding incitement to revolution, and this year, on 14th August, in accordance with the law and with the permission of our Department, he [was arrested and] is now in prison.

**Defendant: Lhundrup**

**Sex: Male**

**Nationality: Tibetan**

**Present Age: 23**

**Residence: Meldrogungkar County**

**[Class:] poor farming family**

On 30th June 1992 the City Police Department detained and investigated him on the charges of spreading propaganda regarding counter-revolution, and this year on 14th August, in accordance with the law and with the permission of our Department, he [was arrested and] is now in prison.

**Defendant: Sonam Rinchen**

**Sex: Male**

**Nationality: Tibetan**

**Present Age: 23**

**Residence: Meldrogungkar County**

**[Class:] a poor farming family, primary standard education**

On 30th June 1992 the City Police Department arrested and investigated him on the charges of spreading propaganda regarding counter-revolution, and this year on 14th August, in accordance with the law and the permission of our Department, he is now in prison.

**Defendant: Konchog Lodro**

**Sex: Male**

**Nationality: Tibetan**

**Present Age: 23**

**Residence: Meldrogungkar County**

**[Class:] poor farming family, primary standard education**

On 30th June 1992 the City Police Department detained and investigated him on the charges of spreading propaganda regarding counter-revolution, and this year on 14th August, in accordance with the law and with the permission of our Department, he [was arrested and] is now in prison.

**Defendant: Sonam Dorje**

**Sex: Male**

**Nationality: Tibetan**

**Present Age: 23**

**Residence: Meldrogungkar County**

**[Class:] poor farming family, primary standard education**

On 30th June 1992 the City Police Department detained and investigated him on the charges of spreading propaganda regarding counter-revolution, and this year on 14th August, in accordance with the law and with the permission of our Department, he [was arrested and] is now in prison.

The Police Department of Lhasa City investigated Thubten Yeshe, Lhundrup, Sonam Rinchen, Konchog Lodro and Sonam Dorje and found them guilty of incitement to counter-revolution and brought the case to our Investigation Bureau. Listed are breached points that have been clarified.

On 24th April 1992 Thubten Yeshe stuck [pasted] immoral letters [documents, posters] on the tree of Gyama House, and in early June of this year, according to the request of defendant Lhundrup, defendant Thubten Yeshe not only made a flag of the snow mountain and lion, but they also conspired to raise the flag outside.

Because there was a public meeting of Gyama Township ["shang", Chinese "xiang"] on 30th June 1992, defendants Lhundrup, Sonam Rinchen, Konchog Lodro and Sonam Dorje waved the snow mountain and lion flag and shouted "Tibet is an independent country". Since the above points are clear and proven the defendants have acknowledged their actions.

Our Investigation Bureau [Procuracy] wishes [the court to] pass sentence on defendants Thubten Yeshe, Lhundrup, Sonam Rinchen, Konchog Lodro and Sonam Dorje for their actions lacking in respect for the rule of the country, like pasting up pamphlets and demonstrating in the market. The sentence is in accordance with articles 102 and 100 of the People's Republic of China, regarding spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda and trying to destroy the integrity of the Motherland.

To Intermediate [Procuratorial] Court of Lhasa City  
Tashi Norbu - Procurator  
22nd September 1992

**Notes [items of evidence]:**

1) Prosecution letter of Thubten Yeshe and others.

2) The 2 immoral pamphlets pasted up by defendant Thubten Yeshe and the prosecution letter have been submitted.

3) Defendant Thubten Yeshe and others have been put in the prison of the City Police Department.

**20th October Trial: Court Judgement Against Thubten Yeshe and 4 Others**

The Lhasa City Intermediate People's Court handed down judgement against Thubten Yeshe and the 4 other farmers on 20th October 1992. This text of the judgement, obtained by TIN 6 months later, was translated from a Chinese text printed on 5 pages, with the official stamp of "Lhasa City Intermediate Peoples Court" over the date on the last page. It gives further details about the case not previously available. The court specifically included the disruption of the "socialist ideological education sessions" by the 4 demonstrators as part of the crime for which the men were charged. It singled out Thubten Yeshe as "fundamentally bad" because he had made 3 posters and a Tibetan flag, even though he did not take part in the demonstration of 30th June 1992. [TIN Ref.: 31YG-B]

**The Judgement of the Intermediate People's Court of Lhasa City, Tibetan Autonomous Region.  
Lhasa Criminal Court Document No. 41 (1992)**

*Prosecutor: [Tashi Norbu] Lhasa City Intermediate People's [Prosecutor], Tibetan Autonomous Region.*

*Defendant 1: Thubten Yeshe, male, 42 years old, Tibetan, peasant, from Chamda area of Chama [Gyama] village of Meldrogungkar county, Tibet.*

On 6th July 1992 the security department of Lhasa City placed him on remand to await trial facing charges of spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda designed to stir up trouble. On 14th August 1992 he was arrested according to the law. At present he is in custody.

*Defendant 2: Lhundrup, male, 23 years old, Tibetan, peasant, from Chamda area of Chama [Gyama] village of Meldrogungkar county, Tibet.*

On 30th June 1992 the security department of Lhasa City placed him on remand to await trial facing charges of spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda designed to stir up trouble. On 14th August 1992 he was arrested according to the law. At present he is in custody.

*Defendant 3: Sonam Rinchen, male, 23 years old, Tibetan, peasant, from Chamda area of Chama [Gyama] village of Meldrogungkar county, Tibet.*

On 30th June 1992 the security department of Lhasa City placed him on remand to await trial facing charges of spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda designed to stir up trouble. On 14th August 1992 he was arrested according to the law. At present he is in custody.

*Defendant 4: Kunchog Lodro, male, 23 years old, Tibetan, peasant, from Chamda area of Chama [Gyama] village of Meldrogungkar county, Tibet.*

On 30th June 1992 the security department of Lhasa City placed him on remand to await trial, facing charges of spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda designed to stir up trouble. On 14th August 1992 he was arrested according to the law. At present he is in custody.

*Defendant 5: Sonam Dorje, male, 23 years old, Tibetan, peasant, from Chamda area of Chama [Gyama] village of Meldrogungkar county, Tibet.*

On 30th June the security department of Lhasa City placed him on remand to await trial, facing charges of spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda designed to stir up trouble. On August 14th 1992 he was arrested according to the law. At present he is in custody.

The Procuracy of Lhasa City, Tibetan Autonomous Region, brought this case to court, where the 5 defendants were charged with spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda, designed to stir up trouble. Having studied the facts a collegiate bench was appointed to try this case according to the law. This trial was held in public. The Procurator of

Lhasa City, Tashi Norbu, attended and supported the public prosecution of the accused.

The defendants were all present in court. The case is now over.

The People's Procuratorate of Lhasa City brought this case, Indictment 36 (1992) to prosecute Thubten Yeshe. On 24th April 1992 he stuck 3 counter-revolutionary posters on a tree in Chama [Gyama] Trikhang. In June of the same year at the request of the defendant Lhundrup, Thubten Yeshe made a flag of the Snow Mountain and the Snow Lion. They discussed going outside to hang this flag up.

On 30th June 1992, while the inhabitants of Chama [Gyama] village were having a mass meeting, the defendants, Lhundrup, Sonam Rinchen, Kunchog Lodro and Sonam Dorje took the opportunity to stage an illegal demonstration, flying the flags of the Snow Mountain and Snow Lion and shouting counter-revolutionary slogans.

The defendants admitted all that they were accused of and offered no defence for their actions.

After the hearing, the court discovered that Thubten Yeshe, on 24th April 1992, had drawn up a number of posters attacking the socialist system, opposing the socialist ideological education and encouraging peasants to rebel. He hung 3 of these posters on a tree in Chama [Gyama] Trikhang place.

On 24th June 1992, the same person, Thubten Yeshe, and the defendant, Lhundrup, together made a flag of the Snow Mountain and Snow Lion. They decided to fly it over the Chama [Gyama] village people's government building.

On 30th June 1992 the defendants, Lhundrup, Sonam Rinchen, Kunchog Lodro and Sonam Dorje, took the opportunity, during a Chama [Gyama] village mass meeting, to illegally demonstrate, shouting "Independence for Tibet!" and parading the flag of the Snow Mountain and Snow Lion. When the above defendants rushed towards the speakers' platform, our cadres and the masses caught them in the act.

The court decided that the defendants, Lhundrup, Sonam Rinchen, Kunchog Lodro and Sonam Dorje had a counter-revolutionary purpose in using the opportunity provided by the mass meeting to demonstrate illegally, shouting counter-revolutionary slogans. Thubten Yeshe also spread counter-revolutionary propaganda, hung counter-revolutionary posters and made counter-revolutionary speeches. On the door of his house he also painted a flag of the Snow Mountain and Snow Lion. It is obvious from this action that he is fundamentally bad.

The above defendants took advantage of socialist ideological education sessions to make unbridled counter-revolutionary speeches and launch wanton attacks on the socialist system in order to divide the Motherland.

In conclusion, they have committed serious crimes that have had a deep effect upon society. According to the law, they must be punished severely. What they have done has offended the criminal law and is enough to prove that they have spread counter revolutionary propaganda. Because of this they will be held responsible before the criminal law.

During the execution of the crimes, the defendants, Thubten Yeshe, Lhundrup and Sonam Rinchen appeared to be the principal culprits and so they must be punished most severely. Defendants Kunchog Lodro and Sonam Dorje were accessories to the crime but according to the law, they too must be punished severely.

To defend the unity of the motherland, to uphold the socialist system, to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship, to strike relentlessly at the counter-revolutionaries and criminal activities according to the stipulations of the

criminal law of the People's Republic of China, Articles 102, (clause 21, 22, 23, 24 and 52, the verdict of this court is as follows:

**ii) Defendant Thubten Yeshe**

Committed the crime of spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda in order to stir up trouble. He is sentenced to a fixed term of 15 years imprisonment. His political rights are removed for 5 years.

**iii) Defendant Lhundrup**

The same verdict as Thubten Yeshe.

**iv) Defendant Sonam Rinchen**

The same verdict as Thubten Yeshe.

**v) Defendant Kunchog Lodro**

He is sentenced to a fixed term of imprisonment for 13 years. His political rights are removed for 4 years.

**vi) Defendant Sonam Dorje**

The same verdict as Kunchog Lodro.

If you do not accept this judgement, after you have received this notice of adjudication you have 10 days in which to appeal, either through us or directly to the People's Court of the Tibetan Autonomous Region. If you appeal in writing, you must submit the appeal in triplicate.

Signed by Chief Judge Li Huichang [?]  
Deputy Judge Tenzin Kungar and Lhu Chun [?]  
Clerk: Jigme.  
Dated 20th October 1992

## 15 Year Old Girl Among Lhasa Arrests

TIN News Update/25th March 1993

A 15 year old girl was among at least 25 Tibetans arrested during pro-independence protests in Lhasa 2 weeks ago, according to reports from unofficial sources in the Tibetan capital.

The girl, Tenzin Dekyong, who comes from Meldro county, a rural area 50 kilometres east of Lhasa, is one of 11 people named in the reports, which were supplied to the Tibet Information Network, an independent monitoring organisation based in London.

Tenzin Dekyong, a novice at the Buddhist nunnery of Michungri near Lhasa, was arrested during a demonstration in the centre of Lhasa on 13th March 1993. Another 2 nuns from Michungri nunnery - Ngawang Drolma, age 18, from Tselung county, and Champa Dedroen, age 21, from Meldro county - were arrested in the same incident.

The 3 nuns were taken to Gutsa prison, a detention centre 4 kilometres east of Lhasa which is notorious for the use of torture.

At least 15 other Tibetans, whose names are not known, are reported to have been detained during 7 demonstrations held around 10th March 1993, the anniversary of an abortive Tibetan uprising against Chinese rule in 1959.

On Monday a top official in Beijing appeared to acknowledge for the first time that the protests, reported by foreign travellers in Lhasa, had taken place in the city.

Raidi, now the "Executive Deputy Secretary" of the Communist Party in Tibet and the highest ranking ethnic Tibetan official there, did not deny reporters' questions about the recent protests, saying only that "a tiny number of people stir up riots sometimes but they ... are opposed by all the Tibetan people", according to a report by Xinhua, the official Chinese news agency.

A further 8 men, arrested during a demonstration in Lhasa on 9th March 1993, are also reported to have been taken to Gutsa Prison. That day a monk carrying a Tibetan flag was beaten by police conducting the arrest, according to earlier reports.

The 8 prisoners are unofficial monks at Ganden monastery, 40 kilometres east of Lhasa, and come from rural villages near the monastery.

A total of 4 - Tsunpa Jowa, aged 20, Tenzin Choephel, aged 18, Topjor, aged 20, and Champa Gyatso, aged 20 - are originally from Meldro county. Another 2 - Kelsang Yonten, aged 18, and Dundrup Yugal, aged 23 - are from Gyama in Meldro county and 2 others - Norbu, aged 20, and Penpa, aged 20 - are from Taktse county.

Besides the incident on 13th March 1993, other protests took place on 25th February 1993, 11th March 1993, and 2 each on 9th and 10th March 1993. All are believed to have lasted only a few minutes before police arrested the participants.

## Leaflets and Posters

Tibetans in Lhasa have continued to use other forms of protests besides demonstrations. A Tibetan national flag, which shows 2 snow-lions in front of a snow-covered mountain which is forbidden in Tibet, was hoisted before dawn on 22nd February 1993, the first day of the Tibetan New Year, from a window of the Jokhang Temple, the most sacred shrine in Lhasa.

Police removed the flag by 9.00 am that morning but were unable to identify the culprit despite questioning the temple monks, according to detailed reports from Lhasa.

From 20th February 1993 the Lhasa *Yul-mak* or Militia was called out in force to support the police by staging special night-time patrols in the capital to try to catch Tibetans putting up pro-independence posters, according to another report from Lhasa.

The patrols and an increased force of plain-clothes police failed to stop posters being pasted up on walls in the city on 5th and 10th March 1993, both anniversaries of earlier demonstrations. The posters, copies of which have been obtained by TIN, call on the Chinese to leave Tibet under the slogan "Tibet belongs to Tibetans".

An underground group in Lhasa, which calls itself the *Tiger Dragon Youth Congress*, has taken to printing miniature leaflets about 2 x 3 inches (5 x 7.5 cm), and scattering them on the streets.

Tibetans have a New Year tradition of scattering *lungtas* or wind-horses - prayers or auspicious images printed on small pieces of paper - and police are said to have collected thousands of lungtas lying in the Lhasa streets on New Year's Day, apparently in an effort to ensure that no pro-independence leaflets were hidden among them.

All the latest leaflets call for the Chinese to leave Tibet, and some have optimistic messages. "The good day is approaching: the roof of the world has become a world issue and Tibetans will succeed this time", says one of the miniature leaflets distributed in Lhasa this month.

## Arrests in Lhasa

TIN News Update/May 29th 1993 rev1/ extract

Protest flared up briefly again in the Tibetan capital yesterday Friday 28th May 1993, according to foreigners in the city. Up to 9 people were arrested after attempting to stage a demonstration outside the Jokhang Temple in the centre of Lhasa shortly before 3.00 pm local time.

The nine included 3 monks from Sera Monastery, 3 km north of the city, who were said to have been taken away by police after they began shouting slogans in the Tibetan quarter of Lhasa, reported the travellers contacted by TIN.

The arrests took place a few hours before the US President announced in Washington that conditions would be applied for the first time to the renewal of China's trading privileges with the US.

A petition was handed over to the Government by local traders on Wednesday calling for prices to be reduced, and allegedly referring to the excessive number of Chinese migrants in Lhasa, according to one source in the city. Officials are said to have promised to give a response within 10 days.

On Thursday a government meeting was convened in Lhasa in which officials were warned that whole work units would be penalised if any member of their department was involved in further incidents, according to an unconfirmed report by the foreigners.

The reaction is similar to earlier responses to serious unrest in Tibet and suggests that the Lhasa authorities regard the protests as politically sensitive, in line with a statement given by a Lhasa police spokesman to Western journalists on Tuesday that the unrest became "counter-revolutionary", indicating that it included demands for Tibetan independence.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry in its first statement on the incident, issued on Thursday, played down the political aspects of the incidents, describing them only as "illegal demonstrations" in which protestors "smashed doors and windows on automobiles and destroyed public facilities", according to a report by Xinhua on the same day.

No mention of pro-independence demands was made by the Beijing authorities, who presented the issue as a infringement of administrative regulations. "Participants neither submitted an application for the demonstrations, nor did they receive official approval", said Xinhua in its reference to the incidents four days earlier.

#### Travellers Complain

The foreign travellers contacted by phone in Lhasa yesterday were more nervous than on previous days, and were reluctant to speak for more than a few minutes, apparently through fear of repercussions from the security forces.

A pair of foreign travellers, an American and an Italian, were briefly detained on Thursday for taking photographs of a demonstration, according to a correspondent for the South China Morning Post, who is now in Lhasa.

Three American travellers who were in Lhasa today put their names to a joint statement criticising the Chinese authorities for responding harshly to the protests, which had begun as a protest over rising prices.

"It is very clear that the Chinese are prepared to go to virtually any length to silence Tibetans and prevent outsiders from knowing their true feelings," said the 3 Californian travellers, Nancy Lynn Borst from Nobato, Christo Meyer from Santa Cruz, and Lynn Ang from Hacienda, who were contacted by phone in Lhasa.

The three, who said they were speaking on behalf of 11 other American tourists, said "[we] resent being threatened with fines, detention and expulsions if [we] show any awareness of the local situation." It is illegal for foreigners in Tibet to photograph or even watch any protests there, according to regulations issued by the local authorities in English since 1987.

Conditions remained tense in the city, with rumours still circulating alleging high numbers of arrests and casualties on both sides resulting from the 8 hour protests on Monday.

#### Chinese Target Nunnery in Re-Education Drive

TIN News Update/20th July 1993

The Chinese authorities in Tibet have begun a political re-education campaign in a leading nunnery near Lhasa this week as part what appears to be a crackdown on Buddhist nuns, according to unofficial sources in Lhasa.

The campaign, which follows the arrest of 19 nuns from 2 nunneries last month, appears to be designed to deter the women from leading further pro-independence protests after several days of unrest in Lhasa in May.

The nunnery at Garu, 5 km north of the Tibetan capital, has been a centre of pro-independence activity since December 19th 1987 when 20 Garu nuns led the first of nearly 50 pro-independence protests that have since been staged by nuns in the Tibetan capital over the last 5 years.

12 women from Garu, including a 15 year old girl, Gyaltsen Pelsang, were arrested on 14th June 1993. They were not staging a protest at the time, according to several preliminary reports.

The arrests, which took place on the same day as the opening in Vienna of the World Conference on Human Rights, were widely interpreted in Lhasa as "a symbol of official contempt for the UN Conference", said a source in Lhasa, who asked not to be named.

On 15th June 1993, between 2.00 and 3.00 pm, 5 nuns from Michungri nunnery, 4 km north east of Lhasa, were arrested on the east side of the Barkor in the old city of Lhasa. They were stopped before beginning any demonstrations, but had Tibetan flags in their bags, according to one unconfirmed report.

Two other nuns from Garu, Ngawang Yangkyi and Gyaltsen Tsultrim, were arrested in the Barkor Square on 4th June 1993 after a brief attempt at a protest. The incident, which took place at around midday, lasted only a few minutes before the women and at least 4 men were arrested, according to tourists who were in the city.

#### "Work Team" Starts Nunnery Re-Education

A political education unit, referred to by the Chinese simply as a "work team" (known in Tibetan as a *ledun rukhag*, and in Chinese as *gongzuo dui*) is expected to move into Garu nunnery this week to begin intensive political re-education.

Work teams are made up of specially trained Party members from other areas. In Garu the re-education team will consist mainly of Tibetans from Lhasa City branch of the Political Consultative Conference, a body made up of former Tibetan aristocrats and lamas who have been co-opted by the Party.

A well placed source in Tibet said the composition of the work team indicates that its tactics will be persuasion rather than intimidation at this stage. It would attempt to get the nuns to accept a new code of discipline including the banning of any political or dissident activity.

"If this fails the whole institution could be disbanded and the inmates made to return to their homes," said the source, who asked not to be named.

Chinese campaigns always begin with test exercises, but the unexpected decision to target the Garu nuns - the May demonstrations were initiated by lay people and had little religious involvement - may be partly designed to encourage religious Tibetans to join the exodus to India. This year



about 30 people are leaving each day, the highest level for at least 10 years.

Several hundred nuns from all over Tibet have fled to join the exile community in Northern India since 1987, where special facilities, known as the Nuns' Project, have been set up to accommodate the women. Last month a group of 60 nuns fled from Lithang in eastern Tibet to India.

The re-education campaign will be familiar to the nuns, 8 of whose colleagues were expelled and sent to their home places on 2nd November 1989 during a similar re-education exercise by a work team at Garu. Then 3 months later, on 1st February 1990, as the campaign came to a conclusion, 9 other Garu nuns were arrested from the nunnery.

The re-education campaign of winter 1990 spread to other nunneries, leading to at least 60 nuns from the Lhasa area being expelled and confined to their home villages, in what appears to be a form of internal exile.

#### **Sentenced to 6 Years for 1992 Protest**

At the same time it has been revealed that 12 nuns from Garu have received stiff prison sentences of up to 6 years for taking part in a peaceful demonstration around the Potala Palace a year ago, according to unofficial sources in Lhasa.

Two Garu nuns, 21 year old Lobsang Choekyi and 21 year old Ngawang Rigdrol, have been sentenced to 6 years each for their part in the protest on 22nd June 1992, when the nuns carried a forbidden Tibetan flag around the former residence of the Dalai Lama.

Ten other Garu nuns have received sentences of between 2 and 5 years for taking part in the same protest, according to the recent reports, which did not give the date when the sentences were handed down.

Tibetan nuns have been at the forefront of the pro-independence movement in Tibet, and in the last 6 years 49 of the 120 known pro-independence protests in Lhasa (40%) have been led by nuns.

In April this year 84 nuns, including 22 from Garu, were believed to be serving sentences in Tibetan prisons for political offences, compared to 179 monks, according to TIN figures. Since then two Garu nuns have completed their sentences and at least another 14 have been arrested from Garu.

#### **23rd April 1993 Trial of the Garu Nuns: Tibetan Account**

A Tibetan described what he heard from friends of the trial of nine of the nuns who had staged the demonstration around the Potala in June 1992. The trial took place on 23rd April 1993, and, as the Tibetan remarks, "a major shift in handling cases has taken place, with no humiliation and abuse inflicted at the time of questioning, which normally used to be very harsh and rude". When he gave his account, on the day of the trial, the Tibetan did not know what sentences had been passed on the nuns [TIN Ref. 2(YM)].

"Nine Garu nuns were taken to the Intermediate People's Court for trial in the morning of 23rd April 1993. The prosecution was in process at about 10am. All the prosecutors were Tibetan. There were hardly 20 local people to witness the trial. Most of them were from Garu nunnery. No notice had been given to the public, in case there were any protests.

"These nuns had staged a demonstration behind the Potala Palace on 15th June 1992 or some time near then. It was around the time of the Saga Dawa festival [marking the Buddha's birthday and enlightenment]. Their names are Ngawang Rigdrol, Lobsang Choekyi, Lobsang Drolma, Gyaltzen Nyinyi, Ngawang Nyima, Gyaltzen Damchoe, Gyaltzen Kunsang, Ngawang Samten and Tsemchoe.

"This time anyone could go [to the court], and no checks were carried out on identity cards or other identification

papers. Usually only those who have a special permit, checked at the entrance, are allowed to witness a trial. [Usually] they even drive away the people gathered outside the court. This time it was quiet and calm. [...]

"The main question was how did they gather at the Lukhang [beside the Potala, where they staged the demonstration] on the day of the protest? To this Ngawang Rigdrol said: first they went to offer butter [lamps] in the Jokhang temple. They found so many security personnel around the temple that they found it impossible to think of doing anything and so went to the Lukhang. At that time they thought that Tibetans had no rights, in any way, and then shouted, "Independence for Tibet".

"One day earlier that month Ngawang Rigdrol had been stopped at Kuru Bridge while she was on her way to Ganden Monastery. That was in June 1992. She was stopped from going to Ganden by the security forces. [She told the court that when she was not allowed to go to Ganden Monastery she felt that a Tibetan had no right to travel in their own country, which is terrible. Then she decided to do the demonstration and she did it.

"On being asked who made the snow lion flag, she replied that she had got it made with the help of Lobsang Choekyi. The size of the flag was roughly 1 metre by half a metre. She finished her statement.

"The other nuns said that when they were circumambulating the Lingkor when they saw the other nuns were staging a demonstration. Some said that when they were going round the Potala Palace they saw the other nuns demonstrating and joined them. One said that she was on her way to Sera Monastery at the time but she could not get there because security refused to allow her to. She felt so bad, being a Tibetan and having no right to travel on her own soil, that she felt it was the right time to shout a slogan.

"They were most insistent on this question of how they managed to get together [so as not to give the impression that it was planned in advance].

"When asked where they staged the demonstration the nuns replied that they didn't remember the exact place as it had happened many years earlier. The court said that it was in 1992 and not many years back.

"The final question was whether, as the law allowed, they had any requests. The nuns said that they had nothing to say. The court said that they were to remain in detention and would be informed of their sentences back in their cells in Gutsa jail. The court adjourned. The trial had lasted for 90 minutes.

"After the trial the public were told to leave the hall and the court spent some time with the nuns. Maybe it was to indoctrinate them. Then, as they finished with the court business, the public were allowed to see the nuns and hand over their presents of tea, bread, food and clothes in the corridor [there is an alley within the court hall, a very narrow one]. They were allowed to accept the food and clothes. A major shift in handling cases has taken place, with no humiliation and abuse inflicted at the time of questioning, which normally used to be very harsh and rude. My friends feels that it may be due to all the people on the desk being Tibetan. Anyway, this time it has been a different attitude and those who went were happy to see the change.

"These nuns were interrogated once and never bothered after that. Usually they are interrogated two or three times each day for several days. It seems that there has been no beating, torture, or humiliation in jail, though there might have been a bit at the time of arrest. Ngawang Rigdrol was put in solitary confinement for some time. All are in good health except for headaches, dizziness, and normal problems [that is, none of the serious health problems that can result from being beaten and tortured]."

## Garu Nuns in Gutsha Prison

The 12 nuns from Garu arrested on 14th June 1993 are believed to be still in custody at Gutsha Prison. Preliminary reports indicate that the nuns had not been involved in any incident. A *shang* is the Chinese administrative unit *xiang*, describing a "township" or group of villages.

Phuntsok Choekyi, layname Deyki, age 22, from Phenpo Lhundrup county, Khache or Thumon *shang*

Ngawang Dedrol, layname Rinchen Choedron, from Meldrogungkar county, Thangkya or Chumda *shang*, age 24 or 25

Ngawang Keldron, layname Goekyi or Gorkyi, age 19-22 from Meldrogungkar county, Gyama *shang*

Gyaltsen Palasang, layname Nyima or Migmar, age 14 or 15 from Meldrogungkar county, Gyama Trikhung *shang*

Ngawang Pemo, also known as Ngawang Choedron, layname Tsering, age 22, from Lhundrup county, Phodo district, Lhangsa *shang*

Ngawang Choekyi, layname Chelmo or Choenga, age 21 or 22, from Lhundrup county, Phodo district, Ngarnang *shang*

Phuntsok Chenga, layname Sonam Zompa or Chenga, age 22, from Lhundrup county, Phodo district, Lhangsa *shang*

Ngawang Chime, layname Phurdrol, age 19, from Meldrogungkar county, Drangda or Chumda

Gyaltsen Sangmo, layname Achok Zompa, age 24 from Kongpo county, Gyada Drugla district, Tsara *shang*

Gyaltsen Kunga, layname Yangkyi, age 23, from Nyemo county Thonchue *shang*

Gyaltsen Kelsang, layname Kelsang Drolma, age 23, from Ngangdren or Ngari *shang*

Ngawang Chendrol or Ngawang Peldrol, layname Phurba Drolkar, age 18 or 19, from Phenpo Lhundrup county, Yung-na *shang*

The Garu nuns arrested on 4th June, now held in Gutsha Prison, a detention centre 3 km east of Lhasa, were:

Ngawang Yankyi, layname Kunsang, age 22, from Nyangra *shang*  
Gyaltsen Tsultum, layname Migmar Tsamchoe, age 22, also from Nyangra *shang*.

## Garu nuns in Draphchi Prison

The following list names Garu nuns who have already been tried and sentenced and are now held in Draphchi Prison, a "reform through labour" centre for serious offenders. The prison holds over 500 prisoners, of whom 7.8% (around 64) are women, according to *Zhongguo Xinwen She*, a semi-official Chinese news agency, on 29th June (SWB 19th July 1993). About 150 are believed to be political prisoners.

10 nuns on this list were involved in the parade round the Potala Palace in June 1992, and one was arrested during a smaller protest five days earlier; their sentences are given here for the first time. Details of two other Garu nuns believed to be in Draphchi, Damchoe Gyaltsen and Ngawang Dedrol, are unclear. Ages are adjusted to give estimated age now.

Gyaltsen Kunsang, age 25, from Phenpo Lhundrup, arrested 22nd June 1992, sentenced to 4 years

Gyaltsen Nyinyi, age 24, from Taktse Pennyak, arrested 22nd June 1992, sentenced to 4 years

Lobsang Choekyi, age 21, from Lhasa Dode, arrested 22nd June 1992, sentenced to 6 years

Lobsang Drolma, age 20, from Toelung Wangkar, arrested 22nd June 1992, sentenced to 5 years

Ngawang Chema (lsbyad-ma) or Kyema, age 23, from Phenpo Lhundrup, arrested 22nd June 1992, sentenced to 4 years

Ngawang Nyima, age 23, from Nagchu Yabchishak, arrested 22nd June 1992, sentenced to 4 years

Ngawang Rigdrol or Rindrol, age 21, from Meldrogungkar Yiche, arrested 22nd June 1992, sentenced to 6 years

Ngawang Sangdron, age 18, arrested 17th June 1992, sentenced to 3 years

Ngawang Tenkyi, age 19, from Taktse Tsangdok, arrested 22nd June 1992, sentenced to 2 years

Nyima Tsamchoe, age 25, from Toelung Sunrawa, arrested 22nd June 1992, sentenced to 4 years

Rinchen Sangmo, age 23, from Phenpo Lungshoe, arrested 22nd June 1992, sentenced to 4 years

Gyaltsen Choezom, age 24, from Taktse, arrested 21st August 1990, sentenced to 4 years

Gyaltsen Drolkar, age 22, from Meldrogungkar, arrested 21st August 1990, sentenced to 4 years

Gyaltsen Lhasam, age 25, from Gyama, arrested 21st August 1990, sentenced to 7 years

Gyaltsen Monlam, age 20, from Phenpo Lungshoe, arrested 21st August 1990, sentenced to 3 years

Tseten, age c.22, from Phenpo, arrested January 1990, sentenced to 6 years

## Garu nuns in Trisam Prison

Garu nuns held without trial in Toelung Prison, 10 km west of Lhasa. Also known as Trisam Prison, opened only in early 1992, this is actually a "Re-education through Labour" Centre for administrative detention.

Gyaltsen Lochoe or Lodro, age 25, from Drigung, arrested 9th June 1991, sentenced to 3 years

Ngawang Pelkyi, age 18, from Phenpo, arrested 22nd June 1992, sentenced to 3 years

## Pregnant Mother Loses Child in Detention

TIN News Update/12 August 1993b revised ver3/ total pages:2

A pregnant Tibetan woman lost her child after police in Lhasa forced her to remain standing for over twelve hours, according to a number of unofficial reports from the Tibetan capital. Her husband has also since been arrested, say the reports.

The woman, whose name is Damchoe Pemo, had been arrested by police on 20th May, apparently on suspicion of involvement in the pro-independence movement. She had been arrested on suspicion of being a member of a pro-independence organisation called the Snowland Youth Association.

Police made her stand for over 12 hours and hit her with electric batons after she refused to confess that she was a political activist, according to one detailed report. Another source said that she had been denied sleep for 48 hours, but could not confirm if she had also been forced to remain standing.

The incident took place either at the regional level Public Security Bureau in Lhasa, where she was first held, or at Seitru Detention Centre, where she is now believed to be held.

Damchoe, who was four or five months pregnant, lost her child shortly after the incident and for a time in early June was in a critical condition. The police allowed a nurse to see her every day after the miscarriage, according to one source. The incident is believed to have taken place on or shortly after 29th May.

"Standing, not eating, and not sleeping, being distressed - those sorts of things can bring on labour", said a doctor in London, commenting on the case. There is a high risk of infection in a woman who has miscarried at 20 weeks and trained medical attention is essential, he said.

## Electric Batons

Damchoe was arrested at 4pm on 20th May, according to reports from Lhasa. A team of 17 officers from a force described in Tibetan as "the Political Police" - probably China's State Security Bureau - searched her house for four hours that day, but found no incriminating documents, according to one source.

The swoop on Damchoe Pemo followed the arrest on 15th May of her uncle, 33 year old Lobsang Gyaltsen, from the village of Sangri in Nyemo, 100 km west of Lhasa. Lobsang Gyaltsen is also suspected of being part of an underground pro-independence organisation.

After nine days of interrogation Damchoe Pemo was still refusing to confess, said one Tibetan, who arrived in India in June and gave a detailed but as yet unconfirmed account of the ill-treatment to the exile Tibetan Government:

"On 29th May they said to her: 'You must confess truthfully'. But she didn't confess. She said: 'I will not confess, whatever you do, even if you kill me'. Then the police said: 'OK, it's your choice.' They then made her stand for 12 hours, and at the same time used electric batons on her. After standing for twelve hours, she lost her

child. But she still would not confess," said the Tibetan refugee, who has asked not to be named.

Damchoe, a business-woman, variously described as between 26 and 30 years old, comes from the family of Bodra-Throngkar in Nyemo county, west of Lhasa, but has lived in the capital since childhood. She was last arrested in March 1989 for involvement in a demonstration and imprisoned for two years, according to one source.

Damchoe's common-law husband, Tashi Topgyal, has now also been arrested, said the same sources in Lhasa. Mr Topgyal, who comes from Lhokha, Southern Tibet, was arrested on 23rd June from the house where he was staying in the Barkor. The circumstances of his arrest are unknown.

#### EC Ambassadors In Tibet at Time of Arrest

Damchoe was arrested while a team of senior diplomats representing the European Community was visiting Lhasa on a week long fact-finding tour. The delegation left Tibet on 23rd May, about one week before the incident that led to the miscarriage.

At a meeting with a Vice-Governor of Tibet on 22nd May the diplomats, led by Denmark's Ambassador to China, called for the release of at least three prisoners arrested earlier that month, apparently in connection with their visit.

After asking for information about arrests they were told of one woman, Ngodrup Wangmo, who had been released, but responses to their other questions were "negative and evasive", according to the diplomats. No mention was made of Damchoe Pemo's arrest two days earlier.

The EC delegates told the Chinese after their visit that "they would be pressing further about these arrests" and "they would seek to remain informed about the situation of Tibetan detainees", according to their official report.

At least 107 Tibetans are now known to have been arrested for political activities in the period from April to July as police attempt to crush the pro-independence movement. The real figure is likely to be up to two times higher.

On 23rd June the European Parliament passed a resolution calling for the release of Damchoe Pemo and other prisoners, although at that time no details were known of her ill-treatment in prison.

Publication of news of the incident has been delayed while researchers checked the initial reports, complicated by the fact that at least one other woman with the same name has been arrested in Lhasa for supporting the pro-independence movement.

One other woman called Damchoe Pemo, a nun from Lhasa, was arrested in late May, apparently because she was suspected of helping take food to political prisoners in a Lhasa jail, according to an unconfirmed report. Her current whereabouts are unknown.

The Damchoe Pemo who suffered the miscarriage is a trader, originally from Nyemo, who lives in the Barkor area of Lhasa. She is believed to have taken to the prison of Seitru, officially known as the Tibet Autonomous Region Detention Centre Branch No 4. Seitru is a part of the Sangpyi complex of prisons in the north-east suburbs of Lhasa.

#### Ragya Protestors: Still in Prison

Tibetans arrested for involvement in a protest in Amdo, North-Eastern Tibet, are still in prison, according to an unconfirmed report from Tibet. Amdo is now largely subsumed within Qinghai Province.

At the beginning of August 1993 the Chinese government is reported to have told locals that the detainees - arrested for their part in the distribution of leaflets in Ragya Monastery in Golok prefecture last November - would be released. The number of people detained in connection with the incident is unknown.

"But by the end of August they were still in prison. With no news going in or coming out of these places we are in fact unable to really know exactly what is happening", admitted a source in Lhasa.

One of the organisers of the 1992 Ragya protest died while on his way to India, according to the report.

Tsering Dondrup, a young Tibetan from Rekon county in Qinghai, is said to have organised the printing of pro-independence leaflets in October 1992. Monks at Ragya monastery in Machen county, in the Golok Tibetan Autonomous prefecture, had made up wood blocks with statements like "Free Tibet" and "Chinese go away".

The Ragya monks are said to have distributed the leaflets on 16th November 1992, under the leadership of Lobsang Palden, during the ceremonies accompanying the enthronement of a high ranking lama, the Shingpa Pandrita Lama. A number of monks and lay people were arrested, according to some reports. Other sources say that a demonstration was carried out by the monks or by local people who were angered by the arrest of the monks.

Tsering Dondrup was amongst those arrested in November 1992, but had been released. "With great presence of mind, Tsering Dondrup took news and documents relevant to the above events with him to India, but unfortunately he died on the way", according to one report.

Other Tibetans were arrested in July 1993 in the Tibetan autonomous prefecture of Tsohlo [Chinese: Hainan], also in Qinghai, according to the report. The source named only one of the dozens it claimed had been detained: Menla Kyab [Sman bla skyabs], described as a widely known artist and scholar.

"The present situation here is extremely bad, with innocent people being arrested; under the current close surveillance of the Chinese, anyone who puts up posters must be a very fearless person indeed", said the report.

#### Over 300 Political Prisoners in TAR

TIN News Update/May 13, 1993 (rev.b)

The number of known political prisoners in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) has gone up by nearly one third in the past year, according to a list of over 300 political prisoners in the TAR released today by the Tibet Information Network, an independent information service based in London.

A list of 335 names has been compiled after detailed cross-checking and analysis on the basis of recent reports provided by underground groups in Lhasa. A list compiled in February last year named 240 then in custody.

The number of political prisoners in Tibet had been expected to drop sharply in 1992, when a large number of people should have been released after completing three year sentences for taking part in major protests in 1989.

China had been widely expected to make attempts to improve its human rights record in Tibet in order to stall demands by the US Congress for the revocation of the PRC's trade privileges with the US, which President Clinton has to renew or cancel before June 3rd this year.

The authorities in the TAR have dramatically lessened the visible signs of control in Lhasa since 1990, and armed



police are now held off-street. But the new prison lists indicate that despite the early release of at least five Tibetan prisoners there has been no change in the over-all arrest policy.

In 1990 the Chinese allowed the first of a series of foreign diplomats to visit Drapchi prison in Lhasa. But they continued to deny the existence of any other prisons in the Tibet Autonomous Region - although at least one, the Detention Centre No 5 at Sangyip in the north-eastern suburbs of Lhasa, is identified on an official map publicly available in Chinese shops.

#### 60% Held Without Trial

Almost all the prisoners arrested in the last three years are in custody because they joined tiny non-violent protests usually involving less than half a dozen people, and lasting only a few minutes. Others were accused of putting up posters or handing out leaflets. All the protests called for Tibetan independence.

60% of the prisoners are held without trial in detention centres or in "reform through education centres", where they may have been given sentences by an administrative committee.

Nearly one third of all the prisoners (101) are women. The three youngest prisoners are girls from the county of Meldrogungkar, 50 miles east of Lhasa, who were aged 15 when they were arrested.

One of the girls, Gyaltsen Choedron, now 18 years old, was arrested during a demonstration on 21st August 1990. Sherab Ngawang, from the village of Thompongang in Meldrogungkar, was caught taking part in protest on 3rd February 1992, and Jampa Dzedrol from Thangya village was detained a year later on 13th February 1993. Each of the girls was taken after arrest to Gutsa detention centre, 3 km east of Lhasa, and there has been no news of their whereabouts since. The three were all novice nuns at the isolated nunnery of Michungri, which sits on a mountain ridge immediately above Gutsa prison.

#### Average Sentence 6.5 Years

Some of the younger prisoners have been given fixed term sentences. Mime Youdrun, a 16 year old nun from Lhokha Dranang, is serving a three year sentence at Trisam prison for taking part in a protest on 14th September 1990. A 16 year old boy named Ngawang Dawa, a trainee monk from Lhasa's Drepung Monastery, is serving a 6 year sentence for involvement in a protest in the same month.

The average age of the prisoners is 25, although 9 are aged sixty or over. The oldest is Lobsang Tsultrim, a 77 year old monk from Drepung Monastery who has been serving a 6 year sentence at Drapchi prison in Lhasa since 1990.

Amongst those who have received sentences, the average length of imprisonment is six and a half years, but this includes two monks serving 19 year sentences for distributing illegal leaflets, and a farmer, 42 year old Thubten Yeshe, who was sentenced on 20th October last year to 15 years in prison for painting a Tibetan flag on the door of his house in Meldro Gyama.

#### 42 Years For School Teacher

Even these cases are dwarfed in severity by the case of Jigme Zangpo, a primary school teacher who is serving three sentences of 15 years, 4 years, and 8 years, all for shouting slogans supporting the Dalai Lama or handing out pro-independence leaflets.

His three sentences, the first of which began in 1983, are to run one after the other - meaning that he is due for release in the year 2010, when he will be 81 years old. Jigme

Zangpo, who had already served at least 15 years in prison before 1975 for a political misdemeanour, faces a total prison sentence of 42 years.

79% of the political prisoners on the new list are Buddhist monks or nuns, reflecting their leading role in the independence movement. 93 of the 335 prisoners are nuns, who have played a prominent role in Tibetan protests since it resumed in September 1987.

But the figures may be distorted by the difficulties in obtaining information about lay people who have been arrested, or about incidents outside Lhasa. A number of protests are reported to have taken place in rural areas this year, with police allegedly opening fire to deter protestors in the country town of Nyemo on January 1st 1993. But little information is available about people detained outside the capital.

#### Releases

The new list names 146 prisoners at Drapchi prison, and 31 at Trisam, a new detention centre 6 miles west of Lhasa opened in February 1992.

129 people are reported to have been imprisoned at Gutsa Prison (technically a "Detention centre"), and 29 others are known to be held at smaller prisons in other parts of Tibet.

About 10% of these prisoners should have completed their sentences and been released since this list was compiled, but the Chinese authorities have revealed little or no information about their cases.

There are unofficial reports that the Chinese have released some prisoners early, in what may be an attempt to soften Western criticism. The famous prisoner Tamdrin Sithar, a 34 year old teacher, was released in 1992 nearly three years before his 12 year sentence was due to finish; he had been arrested in 1983 for shouting pro-independence slogans.

A 46 year old woman prisoner, Ngawang Youdrun, a trader arrested in 1989, is reported to have been released in April 1993, half way through her seven year sentence. Another prisoner who was the centre of international outcry when reports of his torture in 1989 reached the outside world, Tseten Norgye, a hotel bookkeeper from Lhasa Banakshol, was released on March 21st this year, but only because his four year sentence had been completed.

#### Paralysed Prisoners Confined to Home

Two other prisoners, Sonam Wangdu and Lhundrup Kalden (also known as Ganden Tashi), were released from custody on 2nd April 1993 only five months after human rights groups in the US and Britain released photographs which showed that the two men had been severely paralysed, apparently by their treatment in Drapchi prison.

However, the releases of the two men appear to be a form of parole or house arrest, since they are reportedly not allowed to leave their home districts without police permission. Neither of the two men are likely to be moving very far: Sonam Wangdu, a 37 year old trader accused of involvement in the death of a policeman in March 1988, is confined to a wheelchair, and Lhundrup Kalden, a 23 year old monk from Ganden monastery facing a 12 year sentence for his part in peaceful protests in 1988, appears to be severely brain-damaged as well as paralysed.

The decision by the authorities to release the two injured prisoners to their families means that the families will be responsible for further medical expenses, according to Tibetan sources in Lhasa. Last year the Chinese authorities published a statement in the *Beijing Review*, following international pressure, announcing that they had paid for Sonam Wangdu's hospital treatment, saying that he was suffering from tuberculosis and a bladder ailment. - end -



## Over 400 Political Prisoners: Up by 30%

TIN News Update/24 September, 1993

Political arrests in Tibet have gone up by nearly a third in the last six months, with 119 people arrested for political offences by mid-August this year, according to a study by the Tibet Information Network, an independent monitoring organisation based in London.

The organisation has issued a list of 468 names of current political prisoners in Tibet compiled from recent reports provided by individuals and unofficial groups in Lhasa. 28 prisoners should have completed their sentences while the list was in preparation, and there are 29 possible double entries, which would reduce the total on the list to just over 400. But several other detainees have not been included on the list because of lack of sufficient details about their cases.

The lists shows a 30% increase since April this year, when the organisation was able to name 335 then in custody. In February 1992 a similar search produced only 240 names, suggesting that the number of prisoners has increased significantly in the last year and a half.

TIN has compiled a separate list of 246 political prisoners who have been already completed their sentences, 115 of them after serving two or three year sentences for involvement in 1989 demonstrations. In addition at least three prisoners have been released early because they were seriously ill, apparently from torture in prison. But the total of known cases has continued to climb despite the releases.

In 1992 the number of arrests had surged to 166, three times the amount for each of the previous two years, consisting mainly of participants in small street protests.

The increase in arrests in 1993 reflects not an increase in street demonstrations but a much greater efficiency and determination by the security forces in tracking down dissidents, with a big increase in the seizure of underground activists from their homes.

The list shows the names of 120 people who have been arrested in 1993. Only a small fraction of them, if any, were involved in the large demonstrations which took place in Lhasa on 24th and 25th May 1993. The 1993 arrests are characterised by the number of Tibetan human rights activists who organise groups, or who spread news and write leaflets.

Most were detained after a major police swoop in May and June, probably the result of a series of sustained investigations by China's State Security police aimed at halting the flow of information from Tibet to the outside world. The arrests appear to have been designed to stop Tibetan activists from passing information on to a high-level delegation of European Ambassadors which visited Lhasa in May.

In one recent case, on August 6th, a Tibetan academic, **Tenpa Kelsang**, was arrested, apparently for a political offence, from his rooms at the University of Tibet in Lhasa. Mr Kelsang, 30 years old, graduated from the University in 1985 and was a member of a committee supervising the use of Tibetan language in education. Police searched his rooms the following day, apparently looking for political documents.

Nearly half of the 1993 prisoners come from the countryside. 51 of the 120 prisoners were arrested from rural villages, where there were a series of small rural pro-independence protests in May and June.

In the last few days reports have been coming from eastern Tibet of several dozen arrests in June of dissidents in Qinghai and Gansu, formerly the Tibetan province of Amdo, said to have been distributing leaflets. So far only six names

are known, all of them intellectuals, cadres or students. The best known is **Menlha Kyab**, a comedian and writer from Tsoho (Chinese: Hainan) in Qinghai.

### Sentences

The vast majority of prisoners are held for taking part in peaceful protest actions in favour of Tibetan independence, mainly preparing leaflets or taking part in demonstrations. This year at least two have been charged with "leaking state secrets" - probably a reference to lists of prisoners - and other detainees are expected to face similar charges in the near future as part of the crackdown on the independence movement.

The list gives the names of 229 Tibetans who have been tried and sentenced for political offences: they are now in Drapchi prison, Lhasa, or in Tibet's "Reform through Labour Camp No.2" at Powo Tramo in Kongpo Nyingtri (Chinese: Linzhi), 300 km east of Lhasa.

A further 238 named prisoners are either held without charge or have been sentenced without trial to up to four and a half years of administrative detention. 75 of these are in the Lhasa Detention Centre at Gutsa, and 33 at the new "Re-education through Labour Centre", 10 km west of Lhasa at Trisam. The whereabouts of 82 are unknown, and 38 are in prisons in small county towns.

Number of Prisoners		Other prisons	
Lhasa Prisons			
Drapchi	229	Meldro	11
Gutsa	75	Powo Tramo	4
Trisam	33	Tsethang	9
Seitru	10	Qinghai/Amdo	6
Sangyip	1	Shigatee	3
		Lhundrup	1
		Chamdo	1
		Gyantse	2
Not known	82	Tsonyon Golok	1
No. of Prisoners: 419		49	

Information about prisoners in Tibet or China is hard to obtain, and the authorities have not broadcast or published any details of arrests or trials of political prisoners in Tibet since March 1990. At least 345 people have been detained for political offences since then and are still in prison, without any public acknowledgement from the authorities. A Tibetan doctor, **Jampa Ngodrup**, is currently serving a 13 year sentence for passing a list of detainees to a foreigner in 1988.

The prisoners are serving a total of 1600 years between them, with the average prison sentence being just over 6 years. 33 prisoners are facing sentences of 10 years or more, and 13 are serving 15 years or more. Of these 13, only two of the prisoners are facing allegations of violence - the others took part in peaceful protests or wrote dissident leaflets.

61 people are serving five year sentences, and the oldest of all the current prisoners, **Lobsang Tsondru**, believed to be in his 80s, is one of 28 serving a seven year sentence.

### Long Sentences: Examples

In a recent trial, in October 1992, **Thubten Yeshe**, a farmer from Meldro Gyama, 50 km east of Lhasa, was given a 15 year sentence for putting up three pro-independence posters on a tree in his village, and for making a copy of the Tibetan national flag.

Number of prisoners sentenced to 1-10 yrs											
sentence (yrs):	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
no. of cases :	1	12	49	27	61	27	28	16	7	10	

Number of prisoners sentenced to 11-20 yrs											
sentence (yrs):	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
no. of cases :	1	3	4	2	6	1	2	1	2	1	

Other such cases - which are documented from official sources - include the Drepung monk, 35 year old **Ngawang Phulchung** received a 19 years sentence in November 1989 for producing a Tibetan translation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other documents.

The longest sentence is still that of a former primary school teacher, **Jigme Zangpo**, who is serving a cumulative 28 year sentence for shouting slogans on three separate occasions critical of the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping or in support of the Dalai Lama. Jigme Zangpo had already served at least 14 years in prison for other minor political misdemeanours before he began his current 28 year sentence.

The latest report from Drapchi prison claims that four prisoners have had their sentences increased from four and a half years to ten years. The report, which is unconfirmed, names the four as **Ngawang Palden**, aged 28, and Thubten Monlam, age 20, both monks from Donphu Choekhor monastery in Lhokha, and **Ngawang Sherab** and **Ngawang Zoepa** both 24 year old monks from Rong Jamchen monastery in Rinpung. The report gives no reason for the claimed increase in sentences.

#### Ages, Professions

The average age of the prisoners is 26, with the greatest number (47%) being in their 20s. Eleven of the prisoners are 60 or over, and 65 are under 20, including a 12 year old boy, **Sonam Choephel**, a trainee monk at Donphu Choekhor

monastery in Lhokha Chideshol, 50 km south of Lhasa, who was arrested in May.

The youngest women among the recent arrestees are three 15 year old girls, all novice nuns, who have not been located since they were arrested: **Gyaltsen Pelsang**, from Garu nunnery, arrested on 14th June 1993, **Jampa Dedrol**, from Michungri nunnery, arrested for demonstrating on 13th March 1993, and **Sherab Ngawang**, also from Michungri nunnery, who took part in a demonstration on 3rd February 1992.

The majority of the prisoners are monks or nuns, reflecting the prominence of religious leaders in the Tibetan independence movement: 77% (362) are religious professionals, of whom 113 (just over 30%) are nuns. 126, or nearly a third (27%), of the 467 prisoners are women. The 105 lay people include:

Farmers	22
Tailors	3
Teachers	5
Carpenters	4
Building labourers	6

Number of Prisoners aged 12-29										
age:	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20-9	
male:	1	-	-	4	4	6	9	12	185	
female:-	-	-	-	3	2	5	12	9	75	

Number of Prisoners aged 30-70					
age:	30-9	40-9	50-9	60-9	70
male:	29	18	5	9	2
female:	5	1	1	-	-

# Tibet Information Network TIN News Compilation, October 1993

## Reports from Tibet 1992-3 List of Reported Tibetan Political Prisoners, August 1993

This list gives the names of Tibetans reported to be in custody in the summer of 1993 for political offences. It has been compiled from various reports, most of them unofficial, received by TIN from Tibet. There is an unknown number of other prisoners whose names are not known. The list gives 471 names, of which there are doubts about 28 who should have been completed their sentences by September 1993, and about a further 29 who may be double entries, giving a rough total of just over 400 believed to be in custody.

### Key

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g *gonpa*: monastery

shang: Tibetan form of Chinese term *xiang*, a township of group of villages.

1 These 28 prisoners should have completed their sentences, but there is no information yet as to whether they have been released.

2 These 29 prisoners may be already on this list under another name.

3 Three of these monks from Donphu Choekhor, listed here in Tsethang jail under their lay names, have been sentenced under their religious names and moved to Drapchi, but we don't know which. The religious names of the three who have been moved to Drapchi are Jamyang Kunga, Thubten Kunkhyen and Tenzin Thrinley.

\* Cases marked with an asterisk (\*) are sourced only from the exile Tibetan Government, and not from TIN sources.

Name	sex/ age	profession	workplace/ residence	TIN serial no.	birthplace date	arrest	sent- ence
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Chamdo Prison - total no. of reported political prisoners: 1

Ngagchoe	m/28	monk		91-0005	Chamdo	dd/12/89	5yr
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Drapchi Prison - total no. of reported political prisoners: 229

Buchung	m/20	trader		93-0083	Dromo Dzong	02/12/91	5yr
Chime Drolkar	f/18	nun	Shungseb nunnery	91-0355	Lhokha	01/10/90	7yr
Chungdag	f/36	business		91-0160	Lhasa	14/03/89	7yr
Damchoe Gyaltsen 2	f/24	nun	Garu nunnery	92-0086	Toelung	22/06/92	4yr
Dawa	m/25	stonemason		91-0157	Lhasa Kyire	06/06/89	8yr
Dawa	m/27	nomad		91-0142	Chushul Dzong	26/03/89	5yr
Dawa Drolma	f/26	teachr	Lhasa Cement Plant	91-0184	Nyemo	17/11/90	5yr
Dawa Tsering 1	m/22	monk	Dralthaluphug gonpa	91-0206	Lhundrup Dzong	30/09/89	4yr
Dondrup Dorje	m/45	driver	Shoe and Hat Factory	91-0125	Lhasa	26/05/89	5yr
Dorje	m/25	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0098	Meldro	11/04/92	6yr
Dorje 1	m/26	stonemason		91-0146	Lhasa Shol	06/03/89	4yr
Dradul	m/29	ex-soldier		91-0145	Lhasa Town-2	12/03/89	16yr
Dragpa Tsultrim	m/47	monk storekpr	Ganden gonpa	91-0113	Meldro Gongkar	07/03/88	8yr
Gelek Yonten	m/38	tailor, farmer		91-0182	Phenpo	08/08/90	7yr
Gyaltsen Choephel	m/27	business		91-0121	Lhasa	13/03/88	15yr
Gyaltsen Choezom	f/21	nun	Garu nunnery	91-0335	Taktse	21/08/90	4yr
Gyaltsen Drolkar	f/19	nun	Garu nunnery	91-0334	Meldro Gongkar	21/08/90	4yr
Gyaltsen Kunsang	f/24	nun	Garu nunnery	92-0080	Phenpo Lhundrup	22/06/92	4yrs
Gyaltsen Lhagsam	f/23	nun	Garu nunnery	91-0333	Gyama	21/08/90	5yrs
Gyaltsen Lungrig	f/19	nun	Michungri nunnery	92-0107	Lhokha Dranang	21/08/90	4yr
Gyaltsen Monlam 1	f/18	nun	Garu nunnery	91-0336	Phenpo Lhundrup	21/08/90	3yr
Gyaltsen Ninyi	f/23	nun	Garu nunnery	92-0046	Taktse Pennyak	22/06/92	4yr
Gyaltsen Oezer 1	m/27	monk	Nyethang Ratoe g.	91-0126	Chushul Dzong	13/03/89	4yr

Name	sex/ age	profession	workplace/ residence	TIN serial no.	birthplace	arrest ence	sent-
Gyaltsen Sherab	f/25	nun	Chubsang nunnery	93-0072	Phenpo	10/05/92	5yr
Jampa Ngodrup	m/45	Tibetan doctr	City Barkhor Clinic	91-0169	Lhasa	10/10/89	13yr
Jampa Rangdrol	m/21	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0089	Taktse	11/04/92	6yr
Jampa Tenzin	m/22	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0021	Meldro	06/05/92	7yr
Jampa Tenzin	m/22	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0106	Phenpo	13/05/92	2yr
Jampa Tseten	m/22	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0095	Meldro	06/05/92	7yr
Jampel Changchup	m/33	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0089	Toelung Dechen	16/03/89	19yr
Jampel Gendun	m/31	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0105	Meldro	20/03/92	9yr
Jampel Khedrup	m/47	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0099	Toelung Dechen	16/04/89	18yr
Jampel Lobsang	m/29	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0096	Taktse Dzong	dd/03/89	10yr
Jampel Monlam	m/28	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0092	Lhasa Chenguan Chu	dd/03/89	5yr
Jampel Phuntsog	m/27	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0065	Teal Gunghang	27/09/91	6yr
Jampel Tsering	m/25	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0095	Meldro Gongkar	18/07/89	5yr
Jamyang Kunga 2	m/22	monk	Donphu Choeckhor g.			07/11/92	4yr
Jigme Yangchen	f/23	nun	Shungseb nunnery	92-0144	Lhokha Gongkar	01/10/90	7yr
Jigme Zangpo	m/63	teacher		92-0153	Chushul	dd/09/83	28yr
Kalsang Dawa	m/22	monk	Toelung Tsongmed g.	93-0086	Toelung	15/05/92	3yr
Kalsang Gyaltsen	m/27	monk	Dingka gonpa	91-0165	Yangpachen	17/03/91	6yr
Karma Thinley	f/23	nun	Michungri nunnery	92-0108	Toelung Dechen	21/08/90	4yr
Khyentse Legdrub 1	m/27	monk	Sungrab Ling gonpa	91-0107	Lhokha Gongkar	dd/03/90	3yr
Kunchog Lodroe	m/24	lay person		92-0093	Meldro Gongkar Dshr	30/06/92	13yr
Kunchog Tsomo	f/17	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0081	Meldro	17/06/92	3yr
Legdrup	m/27	farmer, tailr		92-0154	Gyaltsen Dzong	07/01/91	3yr
Lhagpa	m/28	monk	Dralhaluphug gonpa	91-0178	Lhokha Tongra	25/10/89	8yr
Lhagyal	m/25	monk	Samye gonpa	92-0155	Rinpung	dd/09/91	4yr
Lhundrup	m/23	lay person		92-0096	Meldro Gongkar Dshr	30/06/92	15yr
Lhundrup Jinpa	m/29	monk	Tsug Lhakhang	91-0128	Phenpo Lhundrup	11/06/89	5yr
Lhundrup Monlam	m/26	monk	Palkhor Choede g.	91-0172	Gyaltsen Dzong	15/03/90	4.5yr
Lhundrup Togden	m/25	monk	Palkhor Choede	92-0156	Gyantse	dd/12/89	14yr
Lhundrup Zangmo	f/23	nun	Michungri nunnery	92-0109	Lhundrup	21/08/90	3yr
Lobsang Choe drag	m/18	monk	Nyemo Gyache g.	92-0031	Nyemo	03/02/92	5yr
Lobsang Choe dron	f/23	nun	Michungri nunnery	92-0104	Meldro Gongkar	21/08/90	5yr
Lobsang Choe dron	f/27	nun	Michungri nunnery	93-0110	Meldro	21/08/90	5yr
Lobsang Choejor	m/35	monk	Ganden gonpa	91-0110	Meldro Gyama	07/03/88	9yr
Lobsang Choe ky	f/20	nun	Garu nunnery	92-0074	Lhasa Dode	22/06/92	6yr
Lobsang Dadak	m/23	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0157	Taktse Dzong	dd/09/89	9yr
Lobsang Dargye	m/23	monk	Sangyag Khar g.	92-0037	Taktse	11/05/92	7yr
Lobsang Dorje	m/20	monk	Phurchok hermitage	92-0138	Lhundrup Songban	16/05/92	9yr
Lobsang Dradul	m/18	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0026	Meldro Gongkar	10/06/92	5yr
Lobsang Drolma	f/18	nun	Garu nunnery	92-0076	Toelung Wangkar	22/06/92	5yr
Lobsang Drolma	f/22	nun	Michungri nunnery	92-0071	Toelung	03/02/92	7yr
Lobsang Gelek	m/23	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0097	Meldro	05/05/92	5yr
Lobsang Gelek	m/28	monk	Sera gonpa	91-0175	Toe Lhatse	17/11/89	12yr
Lobsang Jampa	m/29	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0100	Lhasa	20/03/92	8yr
Lobsang Khedrup	m/16	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0107	Meldro	17/06/92	5yr
Lobsang Khetsun 1	m/60	monk	Drongtse gonpa	91-0174	Gyaltsen Dzong	dd/09/90	3yr
Lobsang Legshe	m/24	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0102	Meldro	20/03/92	5yr
Lobsang Lhundrup	m/58	farmer		92-0116	Lhokha Kyiru Shang	11/10/91	7yr
Lobsang Lodrup	m/20	monk	Phurchok Hermitage	92-0139	Phenpo Sege Nang	16/05/92	7yr
Lobsang Lungtog	m/23	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0101	Lhasa	20/03/92	7yr
Lobsang Palden	m/32	monk	Ganden gonpa	91-0112	Chamdo Pakshoe	07/03/88	10yr
Lobsang Phuntsog	m/22	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0145	Toelung	dd/08/91	4yr
Lobsang Sherab	m/20	monk	Purchok hermitage	92-0137	Lhundrup Songban	16/05/92	8yr
Lobsang Sherab 1	m/30	monk	Palkhor Choede g.	91-0171	Gyantse	dd/07/89	3yr
Lobsang Tashi	m/33	monk	Ganden gonp. Taktse	91-0114	Religious Affairs	07/03/88	7yr



Name	sex/ age	profession	workplace/ residence	TIN serial no.	birthplace date	arrest ence	sent-
Lobsang Tenpa	m/20	monk(printer)	Sera gonpa	91-0067	Toelung Dechen	04/08/91	3yr
Lobsang Tenpa	m/27	monk	Drongtse gonpa	91-0173	Gyaltee Dzong	dd/09/90	8yr
Lobsang Tsultrim	m/82	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0100	Nagchu Sok Dzong	dd/mm/90	7yr
Lobsang Yarphe	m/20	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0024	Meldro Gongkar	13/06/92	7yr
Lobsang Yeshe	m/21	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0103	Meldro	20/03/92	5yr
Lodroe 1	m/39	farmer		92-0115	Lhokha Kyiru Shang	dd/08/91	2.5yr
Migmar	m/32	projectionist	Chideshol Cinema	92-0010	Namgyal Shol	05/04/92	5yr
Namdrol Lhamo	f/28	nun	Chubsang nunnery	93-0080	Rinpung	12/05/92	6yr
Namgyal Tashi	m/62	layman		92-0158	Lhasa	03/06/91	8yr
Ngawang Bumchog	m/22	monk	Drepung gonpa	93-0085	Toelung	15/06/92	5yr
Ngawang Chamtsul	m/34	monk	Potala	91-0129	Phenpo Lhundrup	10/03/89	15yr
Ngawang Choejor	m/19	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0061	Toelung	14/09/91	3yr
Ngawang Choekeyi	f/23	nun	Toelung Nyen g.	92-0052	Meldro	14/05/92	5yr
Ngawang Choezom	f/22	nun	Chubsang nunnery	93-0074	Toelung	21/03/92	5yr
Ngawang Choshe	m/24	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0065	Driglung Lungshoe	12/05/92	3yr
Ngawang Dawa	m/18	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0146	Lhasa	10/09/91	6yr
Ngawang Dripsel	m/28	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0063	Phenpo	12/05/92	4yr
Ngawang Gyaltzen	m/36	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0091	Toelung Dechen	16/04/89	17yr
Ngawang Jangchen	m/20	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0066	Tsethang	dd/09/91	5yr
Ngawang Jigme	m/19	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0147	Toelung	20/09/91	6yr
Ngawang Khedrup	m/24	monk	Drepung Monastery	93-0109	Toelung	15/06/92	6yr
Ngawang Kunga	m/29	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0093	Meldrongkar	18/07/89	5yr
Ngawang Kunsang	f/24	nun	Garu nunnery	91-0340	Phenpo	27/01/90	6yr
Ngawang Kyenna	f/22	nun	Garu nunnery	92-0083	Phenpo Lhundrup	22/06/92	4yr
Ngawang Legshe	m/24	monk	Dingkhag gonpa	91-0164	Toelung	17/03/91	4yr
Ngawang Lhagzam	m/24	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0053	Phenpo	12/05/92	5yr
Ngawang Lhundrup	m/22	monk	Dingkhag gonpa	91-0167	Toelung Dechen	dd/04/91	6yr
Ngawang Lochoe	f/19	nun	Samdup Drolma g.	93-0077	Toelung	14/05/92	5yr
Ngawang Lungtok	m/20	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0055	Phenpo	12/05/92	5yr
Ngawang Namdrol	f/23	nun	Samdup Drolma g.	93-0078	Toelung	14/05/92	7yr
Ngawang Namgyal	m/24	monk	Dingkhag gonpa	91-0166	Damshung	17/03/91	3yr
Ngawang Nyima	f/23	nun	Garu nunnery	92-0075	Nagchu Yabchishag	22/06/92	4yr
Ngawang Oeser	m/25	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0088	Lhokha Dranang	16/04/89	17yr
Ngawang Oeser	m/28	monk	Dingkhag gonpa	92-0182	Toelung	dd/03/91	5yr
Ngawang Palden	m/28	monk	Donphu Choekhoe g.	93-0092	Gongkar Dzong	28/08/92	4.5yr
Ngawang Pekar	m/32	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0098	Toelung Dechen	12/07/89	8yr
Ngawang Pelgon	m/33	monk	Drepung Monastery	93-0108	Toelung	15/06/92	5yr
Ngawang Phulchung	m/35	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0087	Toelung Dechen	16/04/89	19yr
Ngawang Phuntsog	f/20	nun	Samdup Drolma g.	93-0076	Toelung	14/05/92	7yr
Ngawang Rabjor	m/23	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0060	Damphag	27/09/91	6yr
Ngawang Rigdrol	f/20	nun	Garu nunnery	92-0073	Meldro Gongkar	22/06/92	6yr
Ngawang Rigzin	m/32	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0090	Phenpo Lhundrup	dd/03/89	9yr
Ngawang Samten	m/25	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0055	Phenpo Lhundrup	09/03/91	4yr
Ngawang Sangdrol	f/18	nun	Garu nunnery	92-0089	Lhasa	17/06/92	3yr
Ngawang Shenyen	m/27	monk	Kyemolung gonpa	91-0133	Toelung Dechen	18/03/89	6yr
Ngawang Sherab	m/24	monk	Jamchen gonpa	93-0087	Rinpung	11/03/92	4.5yr
Ngawang Soepa	m/24	monk	Jamchen gonpa	93-0088	Rinpung	11/03/92	4.5yr
Ngawang Songtzen	m/24	monk	Tsug Lhakhang	92-0159	Taktse	dd/03/89	7yr
Ngawang Sothar	m/24	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0064	Toelung	12/05/92	5yr
Ngawang Sungrab	m/25	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0062	Phenpo Damphag	27/09/91	10yr
Ngawang Tendrol	f/18	nun	Samdup Drolma g.	93-0079	Toelung	14/05/92	3yr
Ngawang Tenkyi	f/18	nun	Garu nunnery	92-0087	Taktse Teangdok	22/06/92	2yr
Ngawang Tenrab	m/36	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0097	Taktse Dzong	dd/03/89	7yr
Ngawang Tensang	m/24	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0063	Toelung	14/09/91	10yr
Ngawang Tenzin	f/23	nun	Chubsang nunnery	92-0140	Jorenang	16/05/92	5yr

Name	sex/ age	profession	workplace/ residence	TIN serial no.	birthplace date	arrest ence	sent-
Ngawang Tenzin	m/25	monk	Kyemolung gonpa	91-0132	Toelung Dechen	18/03/89	8yr
Ngawang Thubten	m/21	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0148	Lhasa	10/09/91	4yr
Ngawang Tsamdron	f/21	nun	Toelung Nyen g.	92-0049	Toelung	14/05/92	5yr
Ngawang Tsodru	m/28	monk	Dingkha gonpa	91-0162	Toelung	17/03/91	4yr
Ngawang Tsaltrim	m/27	monk	Kyemolung gonpa	91-0134	Toelung Dechen	18/03/89	6yr
Ngawang Yeshe	m/22	monk	Serkhang gonpa	92-0117	Phenpo	11/02/92	3yr
Ngawang Yudron 1	f/46	business		91-0161	Lhasa	01/04/89	7yr
Ngawang Zoepa	m/28	monk (umze)	Dingkha gonpa	91-0163	Toelung	17/03/91	5yr
Ngodrup	m/41	CPPCC Member, restaurant owner		91-0137	Lhasa Dharpa Ling	07/04/89	11yr
Norbu	m/23	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0008	Taktse Dargye	09/03/93	4yr
Nyima Tsamchoe	f/24	nun	Garu nunnery	92-0079	Toelung Sunrawa	22/06/92	4yr
Oeser Choekyi	f/23	nun	Shungseb nunnery	92-0143	Lhokha Gongkar	01/10/90	7yr
Palden Choedron	f/19	nun	Shungseb nunnery	91-0357	Nyemo	01/10/90	7yr
Pasang	m/21	labourer		91-0159	Lhasa	08/03/89	15yr
Pema Drolkar 1	f/18	nun	Shungseb nunnery	91-0356	Lhokha	01/10/90	3yr
Pema Kalsang	m/54	lay person	Tripu Rhuchi Shonpa	92-0013	Lhokha Kyiru Shang	19/06/91	4yr
Penpa	m/22	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0009	Meldro Dushi	09/03/93	3yr
Penpa Drugyal	m/26	Tailor		93-0082	Gyaltsé Dzong	28/10/91	3yr
Penpa Tsering	m/22	stonemason		91-0149	Lhasa Sungchoe Ra	16/10/87	10yr
Penpa Tsering	m/26	layman		92-0181	Lhasa	09/10/91	4yr
Penpa Wangmo	f/20	nun	Michungri nunnery	93-0071	Taktse	13/02/92	5yr
Phuntsog Changsem	m/21	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0059	Lhokha	14/09/91	8yr
Phuntsog Dondrup	m/20	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0150	Phenpo Lhundrup	10/10/91	4yr
Phuntsog Dorje	m/36	restaurnt wkr	Snowlands Hotel	91-0258	Lhasa Town-2	07/11/90	10yr
Phuntsog Dradag	m/20	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0054	Toelung	12/05/92	4yr
Phuntsog Drime	m/22	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0056	Lhasa Cement Factory	12/05/92	8yr
Phuntsog Gonpo	m/24	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0064	Phenpo	14/09/91	5yr
Phuntsog Gyaltsen	m/34	monk	Ganden gonpa	91-0111	Meldro Gongkar	07/03/88	12yr
Phuntsog Jorchu	m/27	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0149	Toelung	02/08/91	5yr
Phuntsog Legsang	m/21	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0062	Nyendrong	12/05/92	6yr
Phuntsog Lochoe	f/24	nun	Chubsang nunnery	93-0073	Taktse	21/03/92	7yr
Phuntsog Namgyal	m/23	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0057	Phenpo	12/05/92	6yr
Phuntsog Nyidron	f/23	nun	Michungri nunnery	92-0160	Phenpo Lhundrup	14/12/90	9yr
Phuntsog Pema	f/23	nun	Michungri nunnery	92-0161	Toelung	14/12/90	8yr
Phuntsog Samten	m/	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0058	Damshung	12/05/92	6yr
Phuntsog Samten	m/27	monk (umze)	Nyethang Tashi g.	91-0078	Chushul	04/09/91	10yr
Phuntsog Segyi	m/22	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0059	Phenpo Phondo	12/05/92	8yr
Phuntsog Thutop	m/22	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0151	Lhokha	14/09/91	5yr
Phuntsog Tsamchoe	f/22	nun	Chubsang nunnery	93-0075	Taktse	21/03/92	5yr
Phuntsog Tsering	m/25	monk	Nyethang Tashi g.	91-0079	Nyethang	04/09/91	5yr
Phuntsog Wangden	m/23	monk	Nyethang gonpa	92-0162	Chushul	dd/09/91	5yr
Phuntsog Yangkyi	f/19	nun	Michungri nunnery	92-0069	Meldro Chubha	03/02/92	5yr
Phurbu	m/23	monk	Ganden g.	91-0179	Taktse Dzong	10/10/89	7yr
Phurbu Tsering	m/27	"family man"		91-0181	Lhasa Tsemoling	07/03/89	7yr
Rinchen Choenyi	f/20	nun	Shungseb nunnery	91-0315	Chushul	22/09/89	7yr
Rinchen Dawa	f/25	farmer	Lhasa sector #3	93-0023	Lhundrup Retzen ?	16/05/92	5yr
Rinchen Sangmo	f/22	nun	Garu nunnery	92-0084	Phenpo Lungshoe	22/06/92	4yr
Sodor	m/25	monk	Sungthang gonpa	91-0180	Lhokha Namgyalshol	16/08/89	7yr
Sonam Choedron	f/22	nun	Michungri nunnery	92-0105	Meldro Gongkar	21/08/90	4yr
Sonam Dorje	m/23	lay person		92-0094	Meldro Gongkar	30/06/92	13yr
Sonam Rinchen	m/26	lay person		92-0092	Meldro Gongkar	30/06/92	15yr
Sonam Topgyal	m/24	painter/tailor		91-0153	Lhasa Dharpa Ling	10/03/89	5yr
Tamdzin 1	m/27	monk	Ganden gonpa	91-0123	Meldro Gongkar	18/04/88	5yr
Tashi 1	m/20	monk		91-0216	Lhokha Samye Da	dd/mm/90	3yr
Tashi Tsering	m/55	former CPPCC, Shigatse, Area No.3		91-0118		28/11/89	7yr

Name	sex/ age	profession	workplace/ residence	TIN serial no.	birthplace date	arrest ence	sent-
Tendar	m/27	farmer	Gyama Village #10	91-0238	Meldro Gongkar	26/03/89	6yr
Tendar Phuntsog 1	m/62	monk(caretkr)	Potala	91-0176	Phenpo	08/03/89	10yr
Tenpa Phulchung	m/47	accountant	Shoe factory co-op	91-0138	Lhasa Gyalkha Lam	15/12/87	7yr
Tenpa Wangdrag	m/49	monk	Ganden gonpa	91-0109	Lhokha Nedong	07/03/88	14yr
Tenzin 1	m/23	lay person		91-0143	Lhasa	09/03/89	5yr
Tenzin Dragpa	m/26	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0022	Meldro Gongkar	10/06/92	8yr
Tenzin Ngawang	f/21	nun	Michungri nunnery	92-0110	Meldro Gongkar	21/08/90	3yr
Tenzin Nyima	m/22	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0024		12/05/92	1yr
Tenzin Phuntsog	m/24	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0104	Meldro	20/03/92	6yr
Tenzin Phuntsog	m/39	monk	Sera gonpa	91-0136	Lhasa Ramoche	12/06/89	5yr
Tenzin Thrinley 2	m/23	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.			07/11/92	3yr
Tenzin Thubten	f/20	nun	Michungri nunnery	92-0106	Meldro Gongkar	21/08/90	4yr
Tenzin Tsultrim 1	m/26	monk	Ganden gonpa	91-0115	Taktse Cha	07/03/88	5yr
Tenzin Wangdu	m/19	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0018	Meldro Gongkar	13/06/92	6yr
Thrinley Choedron	m/28	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0061	Phenpo	12/05/92	3yr
Thrinley Choezom	f/18	nun	Michungri nunnery	92-0070	Meldro Gongkar	03/02/92	5yr
Thrinley Tenzin	m/31	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0060	Toelung	12/05/92	3yr
Thubten Kalsang	m/18	monk	Phurchok Hermitage	93-0022	Taktse Kangba, v.#6	16/05/92	6yr
Thubten Kalsang	m/19	monk	Lo Gonpa	93-0089	Taktse	04/05/92	6yr
Thubten Kunkhyen 2	m/17	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.			07/11/92	3yr
Thubten Monlam	m/20	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0093	Gongkar Dzong	28/08/92	4.5yr
Thubten Namdrol	m/67	monk	Tsug Lhakhang	91-0139	Lhokha Lhodrak	14/12/87	9yr
Thubten Namtha	m/21	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0094	Gongkar Dzong	28/08/92	2yr
Thubten Phuntsog	m/26	monk	Rame gonpa	92-0012	Gongkar Dzong	22/06/92	5yr
Thubten Tsering	m/67	monk(treasr)	Sera gonpa	91-0131	Damshung Dzong	16/12/87	6yr
Thubten Tsondrue	m/23	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0091	Lhokha	06/04/92	4yr
Thubten Yeshe	m/41	farmer		92-0095	Meldro Gongkar	01/07/92	15yr
Tsering	m/48	carpenter		91-0130	Kham Minyak	dd/03/89	7yr
Tsering Dondrup	m/33	religion student	Acad. Buddhism	91-0122	Lhasa	19/03/88	10yr
Tsering Ngodrup	m/61	restrnt workr	Lhasa Gernyer Restrnt	91-0140	Lhokha Lhuntee	07/04/89	12yr
Tsering Phuntsog	m/26	monk	Palkhor Choede g.	92-0163	Gyantee	dd/08/90	13yr
Tsodru Tenphel	m/29	farmer		92-0114	Lhokha Kyiru Shang	dd/08/91	3yr
Tsultrim Donden	m/23	monk	Drepung gonpa	93-0084	Toelung	20/03/92	4yr
Wangdu	m/27	monk(caretkr)	Tsug Lhakang	91-0177	Taktse Dzong	08/03/89	8yr
Yangzom	f/24	nun	Shungseb nunnery	92-0165	Lhokha	02/08/90	7yr
Yeshe Dradul	m/27	monk	Sungrab Ling gonpa	91-0101	Lhokha Gongkar	13/03/89	6yr
Yeshe Jamyang	m/19	monk	Serkhang gonpa	92-0118	Phenpo	11/02/92	4yr
Yeshe Khedrup	m/20	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0096	Meldro	06/05/92	6yr
Yeshe Ngawang	m/26	monk	Sungrab Ling gonpa	91-0103	Lhokha Gongkar	13/03/89	6yr
Yeshe Paljor	m/23	monk	Sungrab Ling gonpa	91-0102	Lhokha Gongkar	dd/03/89	5yr
Yulo Dawa Tsering	m/67	teacher	Ganden gonpa	91-0086	CPGCC Taktse Dzong	26/12/87	10yr

Gutsa Prison - total no. of reported political prisoners: 75

Dawa 2	m/21	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0006	Meldro Jaramdo	20/03/92	
Dawa 2	m/27	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0005	Meldro Thanggya Drok Shng	20/03/92	
Dawa Sonam 2	m/16	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0028	Meldro	dd/05/92	
Delo 2	m/23	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0035	Meldro	dd/05/92	
Dorje Tsomo	f/18	nun	Chubsang nunnery	93-0019	Kongpo Gyamda Gachung	12/08/92	
Gyaltsen Choezin 2	m/	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0066	Nyechung	13/05/92	
Gyaltsen Kalsang	f/23	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0056	Ngangdren Xiang #15	14/06/93	
Gyaltsen Kalsang 2	f/22	nun	Chubsang nunnery	92-0042	Lhasa Nyangden	21/03/92	
Gyaltsen Kunga	f/	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0055	Nyemo Thonchue	14/06/93	
Gyaltsen Palsang	f/15	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0049	Meldro Gongkar Trikhang	14/06/93	
Gyaltsen Sangmo	f/	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0054	Kongpo Gyada Drugla	14/06/93	
Gyatso	m/22	carpenter		92-0100		30/06/92	

Name	sex/ age	profession	workplace/ residence	TIN serial no.	birthplace date	arrest ence	sent-
Jampa Dedrol	f/15	nun	Michungri nunnery	93-0013	Meldro Gongkar Thompog	13/03/93	
Jampa Gelek	m/17	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0004	Meldro Gyama	09/03/93	
Jampa Gyatso	m/20	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0010	Meldro Gyama Village #5	09/03/93	
Jamyang	m/28	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0029	Meldro Thagya	20/03/92	
Jorden 2	m/	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0067		13/05/92	
Kagye2	m/	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0019		dd/05/92	
Kalsang 2	m/	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0020		dd/05/92	
Karma	m/42	farmer		92-0098		30/06/92	
Kunsang Jampa	m/20	monk	Dagpo gonpa	92-0124	Meldro Samling	11/03/92	
Lobsang Choedrag	m/18	monk	Dagpo gonpa	92-0122	Meldro Dagpa	11/03/92	
Lobsang Choedron	f/17	nun	Michungri nunnery	92-0068	Lhokha Dranang Gyaling	03/02/92	
Lobsang Donyo	m/19	monk	Drepung gonpa	93-0002	Phenpo Lhundrup Gyema	04/03/93	
Lobsang Samten	m/18	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0006	Meldro Jara	09/03/93	
Lobsang Tenzin	m/18	monk	Sera gonpa	91-0077	Lhokha Dranang	14/08/91	
Lobsang Tenzin 2	m/21	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0033	Lhasa Nyangden	20/03/92	
Lobsang Thubten	m/16	monk	Phurchok gonpa	93-0017	Lhasa Dokde	08/05/92	
Lobsang Thubten	m/32	monk	Sera gonpa	92-0102	Phenpo	06/07/92	
Lobsang Yonten	m/28	monk, teacher	Sera gonpa	93-0016	Phenpo Lhundrup Lungsho	16/08/91	
Monlam	m/22	farmer		92-0099		30/06/92	
Ngawang Chime	f/19	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0053	Meldro Gongkar	14/06/93	
Ngawang Choekyi	f/21	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0051	Lhundrup Phondo	14/06/93	
Ngawang Choklang	m/16	monk	Thangkyap gonpa	93-0018	Meldro Gyama	14/07/92	
Ngawang Dadrol	f/17	nun	Garu nunnery	92-0078	Meldro Gongkar Chaggaling	22/06/92	
Ngawang Debam	m/25	monk	Sera gonpa	91-0076	Toelung Dechen Ngangkar	16/08/91	
Ngawang Dedrol	f/	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0047	Meldro Gongkar Thangkye	14/06/93	
Ngawang Dedrol 2	f/23	nun	Chubsang nunnery	92-0043	Chuda	14/05/92	
Ngawang Dorje	m/21	monk	Shedrupling gonpa	92-0113	Lhokha Gongkar Shol	12/08/92	
Ngawang Drolma	f/18	nun	Michungri nunnery	93-0011	Toelung Dechen Norluk	13/03/93	
Ngawang Kaldron	f/19	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0048	Meldro Gongkar Gyama	14/06/93	
Ngawang Lamchung	m/22	monk	Kyemolung gonpa	93-0014	Toelung Dechen Kyemolung	19/12/92	
Ngawang Lhundrup	m/19	monk	Shedrupling gonpa	92-0112	Meldro Gongkar Shol	12/08/92	
Ngawang Nyima 2	f/22	nun	Chubsang nunnery	92-0044	Jangpa	14/05/92	
Ngawang Paldrol	f/18	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0057	Phenpo Lhundrup	14/06/93	
Ngawang Palmo	f/22	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0050	Lhundrup Phondo Chu	14/06/93	
Ngawang Sangye	m/19	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0003	Meldro Laptrong	09/03/93	
Ngawang Sonam	m/22	monk	Drepung gonpa	93-0001	Phenpo Lhundrup Gyema	04/03/93	
Ngawang Tengey 2	m/	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0023		dd/05/92	
Ngawang Tenzin	m/18	monk	Kyemolung gonpa	93-0015	Toelung Dechen Kyemolung	19/12/92	
Ngawang Tseidrol 2	f/22	nun	Chubsang nunnery	92-0045	Lhokha	14/05/92	
Ngawang Wangmo 2	f/	nun	Chubsang nunnery	92-0039		14/05/92	
Nyidrol 2	f/	nun	Chubsang nunnery	92-0041		14/05/92	
Pepar 2	m/21	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0027	Meldro	dd/05/92	
Phuntsog Choekyi	f/22	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0046	Phenpo Lhundrup	14/06/93	
Phuntsog Choenga	f/22	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0052	Lhundrup Phondo	14/06/93	
Sherab Ngawang	f/15	nun	Michungri nunnery	92-0072	Meldro Gongkar Thanggya	03/02/92	
Sonam Bagdro 2	m/24	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0030		20/03/92	
Sonam Drolkar 2	f/	nun	Dechen Khul nunnery	92-0038		dd/mm/92	
Sonam Wangdu	m/23	lay person		91-0083	Lhasa	05/02/91	
Tashi Dawa 2	m/	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0014		dd/05/92	
Tenzin Dekyong	f/17	nun	Michungri nunnery	93-0012	Meldro Gongkar Gyalayok	13/03/93	
Tenzin Dradul	m/19	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0005	Meldro Katsel	09/03/93	
Thubten Kunphel 2	m/?	monk	Drepung gonpa	92-0007		20/03/92	
Tsering Choedron	f/30	lay person		92-0127	Lhasa Ngakhang Barkhor Sh	03/03/92	
Tsering Choedron 2	f/	nun	Chubsang nunnery	92-0040		14/05/92	
Tsering Dekyi	f/30	lay person		92-0126	Lhasa Ngakhang Barkhor Sh	03/03/92	



Name	sex/ age	profession	workplace/ residence	TIN serial no.	birthplace date	arrest ence	sent-
Tsering Phunteog 2	m/26	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0004	Lhasa Kyire	20/03/92	
Tsering Yangzom	f/18	nun	no nunnery	93-0021	Dromo Dzong, Dona		
Tseten Nyima 2	m/	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0016		dd/05/92	
Tseten Samdup 2	m/	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0015		dd/05/92	
Tsultrim Nyima 2	m/21	monk	Ganden gonpa	92-0036	Taktse	dd/05/92	
Yangzom 2	f/23	nun	Chubsang nunnery	92-0132	Tsang Rinbuk	21/03/92	
Yeshe Drolma	f/25	nun	Chubsang nunnery	93-0020	Meldrogongkar Dongkogang	12/08/92	
Yeshe Gyampo	m/24	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0007	Meldro Gyama	09/03/93	

Gyantse Prison - total no. of reported political prisoners: 2

Chigchen	m/21	monk	Palkhor Choede g.	92-0141	Gyantse Kyagyab	03/07/92	
Dawa Norbu	m/19	monk	Palkhor Choede g.	92-0142	Gyantse Kharme Shang	03/07/92	

Lhundrup Prison - total no. of reported political prisoners: 1

Lhappa	m/	teacher	Nemo public school	93-0162	Lhundrup Nemo	21/06/93	
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Meldro Prison - total no. of reported political prisoners: 11

Drolma	f/53			93-0147	Meldro Draglok Rinchenling	dd/04/93	
Gyatso	m/	lay person		92-0131		05/03/92	
Jamphel	m/25			93-0148	Meldro Draglok Rinchenling	dd/04/93	
Kalsang Tsering	m/	monk	Dagpo gonpa	92-0121		dd/01/92	
Kama	m/	lay person		92-0130		05/03/92	
Kunchog Tenzin	m/27			93-0149	Meldro Draglok Rinchenling	dd/04/93	
Li-Ze	m/	monk	Dagpo gonpa	92-0119		dd/01/92	
Lobsang Trinley	m/	monk	Dagpo gonpa	92-0123		dd/01/92	
Palden	m/	lay person		92-0129		05/03/92	
Pasang	m/	monk	Dagpo gonpa	92-0120		dd/01/92	
Sonam Tenzin	m/	monk	Dagpo gonpa	92-0125		dd/01/92	

Powo Tramo Prison - total no. of reported political prisoners: 4

Khamsang Gyaltsen	m/27	farmer		91-0002	Zogang Dzong	07/06/89	5yr
Jamyang Samten	m/35	road worker		91-0003	Chamdo Dzong	08/09/89	5yr
Lobsang Tenzin	m/25	student	Tibet University	91-0119	Lhasa	19/03/88	(life)
Lobsang Tashi	m/41	monk	Zitho gonpa	91-0001	Lho Dzong	04/03/90	5yr

Sangyip Prison - total no. of reported political prisoners: 1

Dondul	m/		Lhasa Weather Office	93-0025		27/09/92	
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Seitru Prison - total no. of reported political prisoners: 10

Lobsang Choedrag	m/43	trader	Lhasa Kyedrungh Khngsar	93-0159		17/06/93	
Lobsang Jampel	m/44	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0085	Nyemo	06/07/91	
Lobsang Namgyal	m/	teacher(lama)	Upper Tantric College	92-0128		03/03/92	
Lobsang Yonten	m/61	former monk	formerly Drepung	93-0043	Lhokha	11/05/93	
Tenzin Choedrag	m/	restmt workr	Zhangmu restaurant	92-0032	Lhasa Trumzikhang	dd/07/91	
Tsenyi	f/22		Lhasa Kyirey Lane 4	*	Lhasa	18/06/93	
Palden Choedrag	m/42	carpenter	Lhasa Garu Shar	*		06/06/93	
Pasang	m/24	driver	Lhasa Shakabpa	*	Nyemo		

Shigatse Prison - total no. of reported political prisoners: 3

Nyima Phuntsog	m/	monk	Tashilhunpo, Chagpa section	Chagpa		dd/07/93	
Phurbu Tsering	m/	monk	Tashilhunpo, Waso section	Shigatse		15/06/93	
Sonam Gyampo	m/	monk	Tashilhunpo, Guge section	Oyug		dd/07/93	

Name	sex/ age	profession	workplace/ residence	TIN serial no.	birthplace date	arrest ence	sent-
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Trisam Prison - total no. of reported political prisoners: 33

Dawa Yangzom	f/24	nun	Shungseb nunnery	91-0028	Lhokha	14/09/90	3yr
Drolma Zangmo	f/24	lay woman		92-0166	Chamdo	dd/05/91	3yr
Gyaltsen Damchoe	f/22	nun	Chubsang nunnery	91-0050	Phenpo Lhundrup	18/08/91	3yr
Gyaltsen Drolma 1	f/16	nun	Garu nunnery	91-0031	Lhasa	09/06/91	2yr
Gyaltsen Lodroe	f/23	nun	Garu nunnery	91-0034	Drigung	09/06/91	3yr
Gyaltsen Ngodrup	f/24	nun	Chubsang nunnery	91-0047	Lhasa Phunckhang	18/08/91	3yr
Gyaltsen Pema 1	f/17	nun	Garu nunnery	91-0033	Meldro Gyama	09/06/91	2yr
Jigme Dorje	m/22	layman		92-0167	Chamdo Donchu	04/05/91	3yr
Lobsang Lhundrup	m/22	monk	Sera gonpa	91-0072	Lhokha Chonggye	26/05/91	3yr
Lobsang Nyima	m/21	monk	Sera gonpa	91-0070	Meldro Gyama	26/05/91	3yr
Lobsang Thinley	m/20	monk	Dralhalupug gonpa	91-0201	Yamdrog Nangkar Tse	25/10/89	4.5yr
Ngawang Damchoe	m/21	monk	Lhoka Ngari Dratshing	91-0214	Lhokha Dzong	11/07/89	4.5yr
Ngawang Dechoe	m/21	monk	Drepung gonpa	91-0054	Phenpo Lhundrup Dzong	21/03/91	3yr
Ngawang Kyzom	f/20	nun	Tsangkhung nunnery	91-0039	Meldro Gongkar	13/09/90	3yr
Ngawang Lhagdron1	f/26	nun	Tsangkhung nunnery	92-0177	Toelung	10/06/91	2yr
Ngawang Lhamo 1	f/21	nun	Garu nunnery	91-0032	Lhokha Nyethang	09/06/91	2yr
Ngawang Palden	m/	monk	Thanggya gonpa	93-0045	Meldro Thanggya Chu	12/07/92	3yr
Ngawang Pelkyi	f/24	nun	Garu nunnery	92-0081	Phenpo	22/06/92	3yr
Ngawang Phurdron 1	f/22	nun	Tsangkhung nunnery	91-0038	Meldro Gongkar	10/06/91	2yr
Ngawang Thonglam	m/23	monk	Ganden gonpa	91-0186	Meldro Gongkar Dro	10/10/89	4.5yr
Ngawang Tseten	f/26	nun	Chubsang nunnery	91-0048	Nyethang	18/08/91	3yr
Ngawang Wangmo 1	f/23	nun	Tsangkhung nunnery	91-0040	Lhokha	10/06/91	2yr
Ngawang Yangchen	f/23	nun	Tsangkhung nunnery	91-0035	Toelung Gongkar	10/06/91	3yr
Ngawang Yudron	f/23	nun	Chubsang nunnery	91-0049	Toelung	18/08/91	3yr
Ngodrup	m/24	monk	Sera gonpa	92-0168	Phenpo Lhundrup Ragdo	02/06/91	3yr
Phuntsog Tseyang 1	f/	nun	Michungr nunnery	91-0046	Phenpo Nyarong	14/08/91	2yr
Phuntsog Wangmo 1	f/22	nun	Tsangkhung nunnery	92-0179	Toelung	10/06/91	2yr
Phurbu Choedron 1	f/22	nun	Tsangkhung nunnery	91-0037	Toelung Dechen	10/06/91	2yr
Samten Dawa 1	f/23	nun	Shungseb nunnery	91-0029	Lhokha Dranang	14/09/90	3yr
Tenzin Lobsang	m/26	monk	Ganden	91-0185	Meldro Gyama	01/10/89	4.5yr
Tsering Yangzom 1	f/19	nun	Shungseb nunnery	91-0026	Yamdrog Gang	14/09/90	3yr
Tsultrim Zangmo	f/22	nun	Chubsang nunnery	91-0051	Meldro Gongkar Gyama	18/08/91	3yr
Ugyen Choekyi	m/31	monk	Samye Chimpuk	92-0172	Kongpo Miling	01/11/91	3yr

Tsethang Prison - total no. of reported political prisoners: 9

Dawa 3	m/20	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0026	Chideshol	dd/09/92	
Migmar 3	m/20	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	92-0008		30/03/92	
Migmar Gyaltsen 3	m/	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0028		dd/09/92	
Migmar Tsering 3	m/17	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0027	Tsong, Tson 9	dd/09/92	
Namgyal Choewang	m/38	farmer		92-0011	Lhokha Chedeshol	30/03/92	
Shilok	m/33	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	92-0009		30/03/92	
Shilok 3	m/18	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0033	Chideshol ?	dd/09/92	
Tsering 3	m/20	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0032	Chideshol, Tson 5	dd/09/92	
Tsering("Gelong") 3	m/26	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0030		dd/09/92	

Tsonyon Golok Prison - total no. of reported political prisoners: 1

Lobsang Palden	m/	monk	Ragya gonpa	93-0037	Tsonyon Golok	16/11/92	
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Prison not known - total no. of reported political prisoners: 81

Bagdro	m/25	monk ?		93-0070	Meldro Gyama Trikhang	06/05/93	
Chime	m/25	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0117	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Choephel	m/20	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0124	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Dakar	f/20	nun	Nagar nunnery, Chegar		Lhundrup	17/08/93	
Dawa Tsering	m/	farmer		93-0145	Lhokha Gongkar Kyimshi	05/07/93	

Name	sex/ age	profession	workplace/ residence	TIN serial no.	birthplace date	arrest ence	sent-
Dodrong Ngawang Dorje	m/41	mason	93-0160	Lhasa		dd/06/93	
Dorje	m/15	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0125	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Dorje	m/25	farmer		93-0068	Meldro Gyama Dasha	05/05/93	
Dradul	m/23	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0121	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Gyaltsen Norbu	m/	farmer		93-0138	Lhokha Gongkar Kyimshi	28/06/93	
Gyaltsen Tsultrim	f/22	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0062	Nyangra Shang	04/06/93	
Jampa Drolkar	f/21	nun	Nagar nunnery, Chegar		Lhundrup	17/08/93	
Jampel Dorje 3	m/15	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0112	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Lhagpa 1	m/28	builder	Lhasa Sector 1	*	Toelung Kyawo	20/06/93	
Lhagpa Tsering 3	m/20	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0119	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Lobsang	m/22	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0114	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Lobsang Gyaltsen	m/	monk, umze	Nyemo Gyaltsen g.	93-0152	Nyemo	dd/06/93	
Lobsang Gyaltsen	m/33	farmer		93-0059	Nyemo Sangri	15/05/93	
Lodroe	m/24	nomad/farmer		93-0067	Meldro Gyama Trikhang	04/05/93	
Lodroe	n/53	security guard	Lhasa City Hospital; CCP	*	Lhasa	23/05/93	
Loten	m/51	monk	Gyurmed	93-0040		dd/03/93	
Migmar	m/17	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0120	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Migmar senior	m/27	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0128	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Migmar Tsering	m/20	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0118	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Ngawang Choedrag	m/	monk, umze	Nyemo Gyaltsen g.	93-0136	Nyemo Dhardrong	dd/04/93	
Ngawang Choedron	f/	nun	Choebup nunnery	93-0133	Chideshol Drongehur	28/06/93	
Ngawang Donyoe	m/	monk	Sungrab Ling gonpa	93-0146		dd/07/93	
Ngawang Kalsang	f/	nun	Nyemo Gyaltsen	93-0153	Nyemo	dd/06/93	
Ngawang Lamchen	m/23	monk	Sungrab Ling gonpa	93-0131		28/06/93	
Ngawang Losel	m/23	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0065	Meldro Gyama Trikhang	04/06/93	
Ngawang Nyidrol	f/23	nun	Chubang nunnery	92-0134		06/07/92	3yr
Ngawang Sherab	m/	monk	Kyornolung gonpa	*		16/06/93	
Ngawang Topchu	m/22	monk	Ganden gonpa	93-0064	Meldro Gyama	04/06/93	
Ngawang Tsering	m/	lay person		93-0163	Lhundrup Nyemo	27/06/93	
Ngawang Tsondru	m/	monk	Drepung gonpa	93-0155		dd/06/93	
Ngawang Yangdrol	f/22	nun	Garu nunnery	93-0061	Nyangra Shang	04/06/93	
Norbu	m/	farmer		93-0139	Lhokha Gongkar Kyimshi	28/06/93	
Norzang	m/15	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0126	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Nyima	m/	farmer		93-0140	Lhokha Gongkar Kyimshi	28/06/93	
Nyima	m/28	monk, expelled	Ganden gonpa	93-0041	Gyama	02/04/93	
Pasang	m/	monk	Drepung gonpa	93-0156		dd/06/93	
Pasang	m/24	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0122	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Pe-ngoe	m/45	carpenter	Lhasa Kashali	*	Lhasa	25/05/93	
Pema Oeser	f/16	nun	Nagar nunnery, Chegar		Lhundrup	17/08/93	
Pema Tsamchoe	f/31		Lhasa Kyirey	*		dd/07/93	
Pema Yeshe	f/	nun	Nyemo Gyaltsen	93-0154	Nyemo	dd/06/93	
Penpa	m/19	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0123	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Phuntsog Wangdu	m/25	monk	Ganden (expelled '88)	*	Taktse	dd/mm/93	
Phurbu Namdron	m/			93-0135		28/06/93	
Phurbu Tashi	m/15	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0113	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Rabgyal	m/45	mason	Lhasa Kyire	*		06/06/93	
Shenven Legsang	m/	monk	Kyornolung gonpa	*		16/06/93	
Sishiyl, Tseten Dorje	m/50	trader	Lhasa Jamyang Tara	93-0161		dd/06/93	
Sonam	m/	farmer		93-0137	Lhokha Gongkar Kyimshi	28/06/93	
Sonam Choephel	m/12	monk	Donphu Choekhor	93-0111	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Sonam Gyalpo	m/	former trader		93-0165	Lhokha Gongkar	22/07/93	
Sonam Tashi	m/	draughtsman	Lhasa Phunkhang	93-0150	Lhasa	27/05/93	
Sonam Tsering	m/27	monk ?		93-0069	Meldro Gyama Trikhang	06/05/93	
Tashi Chungchung	m/17	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0115	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Tashi Topgyal	m/	business		93-0060	Lhokha	23/06/93	

Name	sex/ age	profession	workplace/ residence	TIN serial no.	birthplace date	arrest ence	sent-
Tenpa	m/35	labourer	Lhasa Sector 3	*		06/06/93	
Tenpa Dargye	m/	monk	Sera gonpa	93-0157		dd/06/93	
Tenpa Kelsang	m/30	academic	Tibet Language Committee		Lhasa?	06/08/93	
Tenpa Sonam	m/26	farmer	CCP member	93-0066	Meldro Gyama Trikhang	04/05/93	
Tenzin Choekyi	f/	nun	Choebup nunnery	93-0134	Chideshol Drongshur	28/06/93	
Thapke	m/17	monk	Donphu Choekhor g.	93-0127	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Thubten Kunga	m/70	monk (umze)	Rong Jamchen gonpa	92-0136	Lhasa	10/04/92	
Thubten Tsering	m/	monk	Sera gonpa	93-0158		dd/06/93	
Topgyal	m/	tailor		93-0151	Lhasa Jamyangkyil	05/07/93	
Tsamchoe	f/19	nun	Nagar nunnery, Chegar		Lhundrup	17/08/93	
Tsering	m/	farmer		93-0141	Lhokha Gongkar Kyimshi	28/06/93	
Tsering	m/23	monk	Lhodrak gonpa	93-0132		28/06/93	
Tsering Donden	m/26	monk	Donphu Choekhor	93-0116	Lhokha Chideshol	30/05/93	
Tseten Dorje	m/		Religious Affairs Dept	93-0063		09/05/93	
Tsewang	m/	lay person		93-0164	Lhundrup Nyemo	27/06/93	
Tsultrim Gyaltsen	m/23	monk	Sungrab Ling gonpa	93-0142		05/07/93	
Tsultrim Sherab ?	m/19	monk	Sungrab Ling gonpa	93-0144		05/07/93	
Tsultrim Topgyal	m/20	monk	Sungrab Ling gonpa	93-0130		28/06/93	
Tsultrim Zoepa	m/23	monk	Sungrab Ling gonpa	93-0143		05/07/93	
Yangchen	f/		Lhasa Shardo	*	Lhasa	20/05/93	
Yangzom	f/32	lay person		92-0103	Nyemo Phusum Shang	dd/07/92	
Yeshe Jinpa	m/20	monk	Sungrab Ling gonpa	93-0129		28/06/93	

Qinghai (Amdo) - total no. of reported political prisoners (prison not known): 9

Dungkar Tso (dung-dkar 'teho)	f/	student	Xining Teacher Training Collg		Tsholho/Hainan?	dd/07/93
Huachen Gyab (dpal-chen skyabs)	m/	cadre?	nationality languages office		Tsholho/Hainan?	dd/06/93
Lha Shamwa (lha-byams dpal)	m/	?	CPCC		Tsholho/Hainan?	dd/07/93
Lhatrigya (lha-'phrug rgyal)	m/	?	?		Tsholho/Hainan?	dd/07/93
Menlha Kyap (smen-lha skyabs)	m/35	writer	Hainan Theatre Company/Xining Film Company		Tsholho	dd/07/93
Paljor Tsering (dpa-'byor tshe-ring)	m/	official	Chabcha/student at Qinghai Nationalities Institute			dd/07/93
Samdrup Tsering (bsam-grub tshe-ring)	m/26	student	Qinghai Nationalities Institute		Rekong/Tongren	dd/07/93
Shawo Dorje (sha-bo rdo-rje)	m/	cadre?	nationality languages office		Tsholho/Hainan?	dd/07/93
Tsering Thar (tshe-ring thar)	m/	?			Tsholho/Hainan?	dd/07/93

u = unconfirmed.

- end TIN News Compilation Part 2: Arrests and Trials -



## Tibet Information Network TIN News Compilation, October 1993

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#### Markham, Chamdo: Teacher Beaten by Police

##### Introduction

TIN has received two detailed reports of an incident in Markham, in Kham (Eastern Tibet), when a teacher and three others were beaten by a team of policemen from the Public Security Bureau on the evening of 31 August 1992.

The first report is by the teacher himself, Deng Ge, who describes his attempts to intervene in an earlier beating being carried out by the police team, whom he saw attacking a monk and two mid-level Tibetan officials (Hong Ke and Meng Sha) outside a cinema in Markham (Chinese: *Ma'er kang*) in Chamdo Prefecture, in the Tibet Autonomous Region. Deng Ge describes his subsequent arrest, and the beating of all four men at the police station. The beating is said to have continued for a period of more than 4 hours.

The second report is by unnamed students of Deng Ge at the Normal [Teacher Training] School in Markham. Both appeals call for the policemen to be punished. "We also strongly call to the people in all circles in Markham to unite and rise up, to defend the sacred inviolability of socialist law", says the students' appeal. Photographs showing the bruises over Deng's back have been seen by TIN.

Deng, after making formal declarations, gives a factual description of the beatings that took place in the police station. "Those 7 or 8 men hit us until they were tired, rested a while and then hit us again. They took turns hitting me. They beat us brutally for several hours. I passed out," says Deng.

He describes the use by police of a wooden implement with spikes at one end, which he says he learnt afterwards was called a "wolf's tooth club". He was beaten on his arms and legs with the spiked club.

Both items were written in Chinese on 6th September 1992 and cyclostyled, so that copies could be produced and distributed. The first document is 4 pages long and the second is 2 pages.

The public distribution of the appeals suggests that Deng Ge felt it was impossible or ineffective to present his complaints through legal channels. China has written laws and procedures for dealing with complaints about police behaviour, but Deng seems not to have had confidence in these official channels and uses the more traditional method of public appeal to try to reach higher levels of the party or the administration.

The police seemed to feel that official appeals were not a threat to them. "You're able, you can go and notify the centre," one policeman is described as saying to Deng. "Telling the centre is as much use as a fart. I'm standing on your stomach, what are you going to do about it?"

One disturbing aspects of the incident is the reluctance of the local hospital to offer treatment after the beating. Deng says that the hospital staff at first refused to treat him when they realised he had been injured by police. "Blood stained my whole body. It was difficult to stand up; I was half

conscious. When the hospital heard that it was the Public Security Team that had injured us, they would not treat us", says Deng.

TIN has no news of what has happened to Deng Ge or to the appeals to the local leaders.

**"Denunciation document"**  
TIN Ref: 4(YD)

My name is **Deng Ge**, a 24 year old Tibetan male teacher at Markham [Ma'erkang] National Normal School. I want to denounce! I want to use my blood to tell you how the Markham Town [zhèn] Municipality [chengguan] Police Post "Public Security Team" used the carrying out of official business as a pretext for [committing] brutal criminal behaviour: cruelly beating and wrecking me, a people's teacher, without reason.

I want to denounce! I want to use my countless scars to denounce these [people] wrapped in the uniform of the People's Police, for the crime of trampling on socialism's sacred law!

I appeal to leaders at every level and the law enforcement organizations to deal legally with the appalling incident of the deliberate, brutal beating of a people's teacher. Severely punish the assailants!

The incident happened like this:

On 31 August at about 7:30pm, I bicycled to the People's Cinema to see a film. Just as I reached the entrance to the cinema, I saw coming out of the door a group of people hitting and pulling. Those doing the beating had in their hands iron bars and half bricks and were cruelly beating [the others]. Furthermore, they were using their fists and feet, and were pulling and pulling. When I saw this situation I thought it was a crowd of savage hooligans or local ruffians having a fight. I immediately put down my bike and ran over to have a look. One of those being beaten was a cadre from the [Chamdo?] Prefecture Religious Affairs Bureau called **Hong Ke**, another was a cadre from the Prefecture Education Committee Educational Research Office called **Meng Sha**. There was another I did not know, a small monk wearing a kasaya [the outer robe worn by Buddhist monks]. I hastily called out, "Don't hit like that. Talk reasonably." Those hitting [the people] not only took no notice, but they pushed me to one side. Still cruelly and savagely beating [the people], they pulled them towards a small car.

At that point, someone next to me told me "The Public Security Team are grabbing people". Then I finally realised that those doing the beating and grabbing were from the Public Security Team. Because I did not know the whole story, I was afraid it would be useless trying to dissuade them, so I prepared to notify the heads of household [of those being beaten].

As I was about to go, I turned my head to look. **Hong Ke** had already been pulled into the car. I saw one person using an iron bar to poke randomly at **Hong Ke's** body. When I saw this pitiful sight, I thought, we are a country with socialist law, so even if **Hong Ke** has really broken the law, they should not beat him savagely like this. So I ran back to the car window and advised those in the car "You are law enforcers, you cannot treat people like this; it's going too far; there's no reason; this is inhuman; you will regret it". But they took no notice of my advice and still continued cruelly to beat those in the car.

I had no choice. I knew my words were of no avail, and again thought I should go and notify their household heads. So I ran back to my bicycle and prepared to ride off. Suddenly two people pounced on me from behind and, while hitting me, pulled me towards the car. When we were 3 or 4 paces from the car, one of them wearing a grey jacket hit me savagely on the head with an iron bar. For a moment I

felt dizzy. Again someone pushed me roughly from behind towards the car, banging my head against the car door. Immediately blood flowed from my head over my face. After I had been pulled into the car, we drove towards the municipality [chengguan] police post. On the way, they used iron bars to prod the bodies of the four of us indiscriminately. They punched and kicked us. It never stopped.

After arriving at the police post, [the police] pulled us from the car and threw us into an office. They asked us nothing about the reason for the incident, nor was there any analysis or enquiry [of any kind]. The seven or eight of them surrounded us and from all sides punched and kicked us indiscriminately for a while. Then someone asked me "What do you do? Where are you from?" I replied, "I am a teacher at Markham Normal School". Then one said, "You used to teach people, today I'm going to teach you a good lesson. I'll ring your school head, [the will] immediately fire you. Another wearing a People's Police uniform, of medium height, with a moustache shaped like this [ / ] and a beard connecting to his sideburns, said, "O.K., you're willing to take up the fight for a just cause, you're strong, you're able, you prevent us from carrying out our public duties, I can make you weak." As he spoke he picked up a club with spikes at one end [afterwards I learnt that it was called a "wolf's tooth club"] and beat me violently on my arms and legs. He knocked me to the ground and beat my back. When I struggled to my feet, he again hit me wildly and knocked me flat on my face.

Then, when **Meng Sha** saw the situation, he could not help shouting, "Teacher is ill, you should not hit him like that". Someone said, "He's a teacher, he's sick, what else? We should beat him to death, beat him to death and leave him in the street." Then he beat me again. The one wearing the grey jacket ran over and fiercely kicked my chest and stood heavily on my stomach. While standing there he said, "You're a teacher, let's see what abilities you have. You're able, you can go and notify the centre. Telling the centre is as much use as a fart. I'm standing on your stomach, what are you going to do about it?"

It was like that. Those 7 or 8 men hit us until they were tired, rested awhile and then hit us again. They took turns hitting me. They also said they would stomp on our bodies. Not only that, they also egged on a little child to hit us, a 5 or 6 year old little boy, who ran over and swore at us, "You bastards", and kicked us. They all laughed loudly. They beat us brutally for several hours. I passed out.

According to my student, a telephone call came in and they hurriedly took water and a wet cloth and wiped the blood from our faces and bodies. They wiped the traces of blood from the floor with a broom. One of them grabbed my hair with one hand and wiped the blood from my face with a wet cloth with the other. But the blood would not stop. As soon as it was wiped off it flowed again. They took us one at a time into another room and, after putting on an act of making a simple interrogation and writing notes, they took us back to the original room. By this time I had been beaten black and blue. Blood stained my whole body. It was difficult to stand up; I was half conscious. They discovered that my injuries were serious. The situation was bad, so they used the car they had used to seize us to take us to the entrance of the Prefecture Hospital, where they dumped us and ran away. It was already the middle of the night. When the hospital heard that it was the Public Security Team that had injured us, they would not treat us. Then **Hong Ke's** household head arrived. They repeatedly explained the situation to the hospital until the hospital finally let us in.

As the 8th Teachers' Day approaches, I am a people's teacher, who without reason suffered illegal beating and injury by law enforcement personnel. I was seriously injured. This was not only a personal physical and mental injury, but also a great insult to the sacred profession of being a people's teacher. Thus, I appeal to top level leaders and

organisations and to political and legal departments as soon as possible to investigate these conditions and severely punish the assailants, and amend the prefecture's constitution so that law enforcement personnel will never again trample on the law and injure people.

[salutation]  
Accuser: Deng Ge  
6th September 1992

**Markham Students' Appeal for Justice**  
TIN Ref. 5(YD)

**Notice to people in all circles in Markham [Chinese: Ma'erkang], Markham District [diqu] Party, government and army organs.**

Just as the people's teachers in Markham [Ma'erkang] prefecture, with high morale and elated frames of mind, were approaching the 8th Teachers' Festival, the savage, groundless beating of our school's people's teacher, Deng Ge, took place in an office of the Markham Municipal [Chengguan] Police Post "Public Security Team".

On 31 August [1992] at about 7.30pm, our school's teacher, **Deng Ge**, bicycled to the people's cinema to see a film. He saw a crowd of people violently beating the Markham Prefectural Religious Affairs Bureau cadre, **Hong Ke**, and the Markham Prefectural Education Committee cadre, **Meng Sha**. When Deng Ge saw this barbaric behaviour he became very angry. In order to obtain justice and uphold the law, he bravely tried to use reason to dissuade them [from beating the two men]. The crowd not only did not listen to Deng Ge's words, but, failing to distinguish him from the others, also seized and beat him.

They took him to the Police Post "Public Security Team" Office where 7 or 8 Public Security Team personnel and People's Police from that police post used iron bars, wolf's teeth clubs and other instruments of torture, as well as punching, kicking and stamping on him. They took turns violently beating our school's teacher, Deng Ge. [They] stood heavily on Deng Ge's stomach, and while standing there said cruelly "Now what, teacher. We'll beat you to death like a fart." It was like that. The cruel beating continued for 4 hours. Our school's teacher, comrade Deng Ge, was beaten black and blue and blood stained his whole body. He suffered serious injury and became unconscious.

Please investigate. While on the heads [of the police] was hung the dignified national emblem of the PRC, under their feet was trampled the sacred law of the PRC. When the laws of socialist justice occupy a clear place in the motherland, under cover of night occurs an illegal arrest and torture like this: the savage beating of our people's teacher.

These law enforcers, the people's police, not only did not protect the people's interests, but harboured thoughts of hatred towards them, even going so far as to consider killing a people's teacher and leaving him in the street. They have become absolutely lawless, crazily saying something like, "Your telling the centre is as much use as a fart!" During the cruel and violent torture they also said, "You're a teacher, but today it is I who will give you a good lesson!" One man who wore the sacred uniform of the people's police while savagely beating teacher Den Ge swore at him, saying, "You're ready to fight just because you're brave, you're clever. Today I'll make it unbearable for you!"

Please listen! In this language, we can clearly hear the gnashing of teeth in hatred against the people, against the people's teacher, against justice. Where is the slightest indication of a people's police?

If the violence that occurred on the evening of 31st August, its sinister methods, its abominable plot, and its morally corrupt attitude can be tolerated, what cannot? We, all the students of the Markham Normal School, strongly appeal to

law enforcement organizations to punish the assailants severely according to the law. We also strongly call to the people in all circles in Markham to unite and rise up, to defend the sacred inviolability of socialist law. We call upon all people to appeal to justice and protect the personal safety of the people's teachers according to the law.

Markham Normal School Students  
9th September 1992

**Concerns about Political Prisoners' Work Conditions**  
TIN Report/18 October, 1993

Political prisoners in Lhasa's Drapchi prison have continued to report a high rate of illness and disability amongst inmates, and complain that labour conditions are unhealthy and severe.

The well-known prisoner, **Jampa Ngodrup**, himself a doctor, serving 13 years for writing down the names of wounded demonstrators in 1988, was only able to walk on crutches earlier this year, according to an informed source. There is no news of his current condition.

11 political prisoners in the main prison in Drapchi were considered to be in bad health in May this year, according to unofficial sources in Lhasa.

The illnesses are mainly attributed by sources close to the prisoners to torture and ill-treatment or to hard labour. Prisoners are also forced to run for hours at a time, according to some reports.

Most of the inmates at Drapchi have to work in greenhouses and meet productivity targets, often very high; each prisoner was required to produce goods worth 16,000 yuan to 18,000 yuan (average US \$2,900) per person per year in 1992, about 20 times the average annual income, according to one recently released prisoner. "If they fail to meet this target, prisoners are threatened with increased sentences," he said. These targets, first introduced in April 1991, were increased in 1993.

In 1992 there were 18 greenhouses each measuring 56 feet long by 16 feet wide, and a number of prisoners were given the job of looking after the apple and peach orchards, with a profit target after expenses of 17,000 yuan. Three people were appointed to rear 15 pigs in 1992, with a profit target of 15,000 yuan, and a prisoner working as a carpenter had to make a profit of 15,000 yuan. It is unclear if these targets had to be achieved by each prisoner or by their unit as a whole.

Prisoners receive a stipend of 35 or 36 yuan per month - amounting to 420 yuan a year, equivalent to about 2% of their expected annual productivity - from which they have to buy staple foods, oil, fuel and salt. In addition they have to pay back 5 yuan per month to the prison for toiletries, leaving just over 30 yuan (US \$5.2) per month to live on.

Number 8 of the *Ten Commands* of the Prison Rules, issued by the TAR Labour Reform Bureau in October 1988, states that the work is compulsory:

*You must actively participate in labour nd  
production and guarantee the completion of  
the production task*

One prisoner complained that they were physically threatened if they refused to work. "Inside the plastic greenhouses the temperature is quite high and if they say they don't want to work inside the plastic gardens, they are threatened with being beaten." He described a prisoner, **Lhundrup Kelden** (also called Ganden Tashi), since paroled because of ill health, who fainted while he was working inside the greenhouses after he had been beaten.



"The temperature could reach 55 degrees celsius, and it is hard for a human being to bear such heat, and it is difficult to make others believe that this is what is going on", a former prisoner told TIN of conditions in Drapchi earlier this year. "Prisoners of conscience have to work under this sort of heat year after year, under the pretext of growing vegetables. It is clear that by working in such terrible heat, people can easily get sick and die."

"We feel the illnesses are due to hard labour in the greenhouses," commented a different source in Lhasa. "The greenhouses are enclosed and the workers have to inhale the gases, especially the fumes from the fertilisers. In addition, they have to work for long hours and cannot avoid the filthy atmosphere inside the greenhouses."

Prisoners have to get up at 5am, the source said, and then work for 8 hours.

Bagdro, a prisoner who was released from Drapchi in April 1991, described the forced labour conditions in more detail. "In the orchard we were each given a section to complete. If you didn't complete it then you suffered," he said after he fled to India. He described one prisoner, **Dawa**, a monk from Ratse Monastery near Chushul, who was beaten up and made to stand for 3 hours as punishment for not finishing his work load.

#### Forced Running

Political prisoners work under harder conditions than ordinary prisoners, according to some former prisoners, and are made to run during rest periods. "We had lunch about 11.30am after the morning's labour. In the afternoon there was supposed to be a break but the political prisoners didn't get this. Instead we were made to run for several hours. This was in the apple orchard. Those who couldn't run were given the electric prod," said a prisoner who left in 1991.

An informed source said that in 1993 working conditions were similar. "Every day we have to do 8 hours hard labour. During the morning and afternoon break, in the name of exercise, they cruelly force us to run long distances", said the source.

Both sources said that sick and old prisoners were expected to work, unless they could produce a doctor's note showing a physical ailment. "Our regime was so hard that on our way back from labour some vomited blood and some fainted," said Bagdro of conditions in 1991.

The most seriously ill prisoners - notably Sonam Wangdu and Lhundrup Kelden, both partially paralysed as a result of prison treatment - are sent home on a form of medical parole, during which their movements are restricted.

#### Names of Prisoners in Bad Health, May 1993

This list, produced from information provided by unofficial sources in Lhasa, gives details of 11 political prisoners in May 1993 who were known to be suffering from illness or injury. The prisoners named on the list are all housed in separate sections of Drapchi's Block 5, which houses only male political prisoners. Most of the 14 sections contained 12 prisoners each in early May, and in all but three of the 14 sections there was one person who other prisoners regarded as being in bad health. There were no seriously sick prisoners at that time in sections 12, 13 or 14 of Block 5.

No details are available about the health of women prisoners in Drapchi or prisoners in other labour camps or detention centres. Drapchi's Block 5 contained 153 people in May 1993, of whom 11 were regarded by fellow prisoners as suffering from illness.

Dr. **Jampa Ngodrup Nyarongshar**, a 45 year old doctor serving 13 years in section 5 with 11 others, suffers from fluid retention. Other reports say that he may also be

suffering from tuberculosis. His condition in fact must be serious, because it is known that at least in April 1993 he was able to walk only with aid of crutches. He was grossly bloated and wearing trousers which could not be done up because his girth had increased by at least 8 inches or more. His cheeks are puffed up around his eyes and at the time his right eye was scarcely visible.

According to a May 1993 list, **Ngawang Kunga**, a 29 year old Drepung monk serving a 5 year sentence in section 1 with 6 others, has liver problems as a result of heavy physical labour. Ngawang Kunga is one of the prisoners who was forced to run with a stone on his back in 1990 or 1991, according to Bagdro, a former inmate.

**Phuntsog Dorje**, a 36 year old restaurant worker serving a 10 year sentence in section 2 with 11 others, has kidney problems, also attributed to heavy labour.

**Tashi Tsering**, a 55 year old layman from Shigatse serving 7 years in section 3 with 11 others, has heart trouble. He was briefly admitted to the prison clinic in April 1991.

**Lobsang Tsondru**, a Drepung monk in his 70s serving a 6 or 7 year sentence in section 4 with 11 others, has heart disease. He was severely beaten by troops after a protest in the prison in April 1991, and placed in solitary confinement for up to 5 months.

**Ngawang Samten**, a 25 year old monk from Drepung serving a 4 year sentence in section 7 with 11 others, also has swollen joints from doing hard labour.

**Tsering**, a 48 year old carpenter serving a 7 year sentence in section 8, with 11 others, has gone deaf as a result of severe beating.

**Tanak Jigme Sangpo**, serving a 28 year sentence in section 10 with 10 others, has high blood pressure. Jigme Sangpo was placed in solitary confinement in a cold cell for some time in winter 1991-2 after protesting during the visit of the Swiss Ambassador to Drapchi.

Three other prisoners are also said to be in poor health, but they are known only by their nicknames. **Phuntsook**, in section 11 with 11 others, has ulcers and jaundice. **Khedrup**, in section 9, with 11 others, has ulcers, as a result of hard labour. **Namdrol**, in section 6 with 190 others, has swollen joints as a result of hard labour.

#### Death of Dawa Dondrup

A former prisoner who died a year after release from a Lhasa prison in November 1992, was fatally injured by prison guards while in prison, according to a claim by Tibetans in Lhasa.

**Dawa Dondrup**, who lived in Shol, Lhasa, was 31 years old when he died, apparently from kidney failure, in his home on 9th November. He imprisoned in Sangyip prison, believed to be a re-education through labour camp, for 2 years, after taking part in the March 1989 demonstration. He was released after completing his sentence on 7th March 1991.

"At the time of his release he was in very bad health", said the Tibetan who raised his case. "His kidney and bladder were damaged and he could not retain urine. Later he managed to get an X-ray of his back, which showed that the main rib was broken on the lower side", he added.

While Dawa Dondrup was still in prison doctors had declared him fit and after his release again refused him admission to the hospital, according to the source. This is likely to have been because his case was not curable, according to the Tibetan source. There have been other reported cases where hospitals in Tibet have refused to admit patients and former prisoners who are unlikely to survive.



The link between his death and his time in prison is suggested by reports of maltreatment in his first few months in prison. The case illustrates the importance of protecting prisoners during the first few days and weeks of detention, when prisoners are under interrogation and the risk of torture is at its highest.

There is a lack of firm documentary evidence to establish the cause of death, which the Tibetan source suggests was the eventual result of organ damage caused by continual beatings three years earlier. There are further complications in establishing the cause of the injuries because as a youth Dawa Dondrup had had kidney problems, although these were very minor.

Dawa Dondrup was arrested 7th March 1989 and was beaten unconscious several times at the time of his arrest, both in the police station and later in the detention centre, according to the source. This is not unlikely, given that photos taken inside a Lhasa police station in 1988 and later smuggled out of Tibet show piles of apparently unconscious or semi-conscious demonstrators, men and women, lying on the police station floor.

Dawa came from a very poor family in Khangma, Shigatse Prefecture, and became a soldier in the army for four years in 1979. He was regarded as a model soldier and as politically reliable. After his arrest during the March 1989 demonstrations he is said to have received more brutal treatment than other prisoners because he had been a soldier.

His health was destroyed by "the sustained use of different implements during interrogation sessions, including wooden sticks, iron rods, gun butts, ropes and chairs", said the source, without giving further details. Dawa Dondrup was also kicked and punched during the question sessions. "He received no proper medication during his detention, he was not given proper food and he was forced to work while his health was bad", said the source.

The interrogation sessions took place in the 4 months and 11 days between the demonstration on 7th March 1989 during which he was arrested and the sentencing on 17th September 1989, when an administrative committee announced that he would be imprisoned without trial for 2 years. "During this time no one knew where he was and due to this long period of illness his health condition deteriorated, so that later he turned out to be incurable," said the source.

Dawa Dondrup must have been in a serious condition when he was released because he was very hard to care for. "In a way it was good that he died," one of his acquaintances told TIN sadly after his death.

TIN will publish more details about Dawa Dondrup in its next edition.

### Shungsep Nun Dies 1 Month After Release

A 26 year old nun who died in October 1992 a month after release from jail may have died because of injuries received in prison, according to a Tibetan source in Lhasa.

Kunsang Choekyi was only 26 years old when she died at her home in Lhokha, Southern Tibet. In 1988 she was imprisoned in Chushul county prison, not far from the Nyingma nunnery at Shungsep where she was a nun. Other accounts suggest After arrest and she was beaten severely, and one report claims that she was spreadeagled on a wooden board with her hands and feet tied apart at the ends of the plank. She was kept for several days in this position and questioned by interrogators at the same time, according to the report, which is unconfirmed.

The practice of tying prisoners to a wooden board has not been reported in Tibet before, but is well documented in China. Details of the practice in prisons in Hunan were published by Asia Watch in the report *Anthems of Defeat* in 1992.

### Rigzin Choedron

Kunsang Choekyi is believed to be a second name for the nun Rigzin Choedron (sometimes called Rinzin Choedron), also from Lhokha, who died on 10th October 1992 at her home in Lhokha. Rigzin Choedron was arrested in the Barkor Lhasa on 22nd September 1989 for "hysterically shouting several reactionary slogans such as "Tibetan independence", according to *Tibet Daily*, the Communist Party's paper in Tibet. She and five other nuns from Shungsep nunnery in Chushul county, south of Lhasa, "were swollen with arrogance. While demonstrating, they were caught in the act by the cadres and policemen of Lhasa Public Security Bureau with the suddenness of a thunderbolt," said the newspaper 3 days after the incident.

She was sentenced to 3 years re-education through labour, the later part of which she served at Trisam Labour Re-education Centre, 10 km west of Lhasa. But the injuries which may have led to her death were probably sustained in the first days or weeks of detention, when she was in Gutsa detention centre, 4 km east of Lhasa. When she was released from prison in September 1992 she had "wounds and abscesses on her back and one kidney was damaged", according to one unconfirmed report. The damage was probably due to punching and kicking during the arrest and in the first few hours at Gutsa prison, said the source in Lhasa, who can not be named.

Rigzin Choedron's case was used by the Party, acting through the police force, to broadcast an uncompromising position towards dissidents. According to the official daily paper in Lhasa, in the mass sentencing rally which was held to denounce the 6 nuns on 24th September 1989 the Lhasa Public Security Bureau declared: "If counter-revolutionary splittist criminals and other criminals dare to defy the law, and continue to be enemies of the people, we will strike firmly and never be soft".

### Kunchog Drolma

Another of the 6 Shungsep nuns arrested in September 1989 is also believed to have been maltreated during the first few months in prison, according to a recent report from Tibet.

Kunchog Drolma, a 29 year old Shungsep nun from Lhokha Gongkar, who has since completed her sentence, was "remaining under torture and had no peace for a single minute" during her time in prison, according to the report. Her case had attracted particular concern because she seems to have attracted continuing harassment or abuse. "Since the very first day of arrest, she has not had a moment of peace under the ruthless torture of the red Chinese", said the report.

Kunchog Drolma had been tied up with rope during questioning and was "beaten up with her arms tied up and subjected to intensive interrogation", claimed the report, which was unconfirmed. She is now believed to have completed her sentence and been released in September 1992, but there is no news of her current condition.

### III-treatment in Tibetan Prisons: Extracts from Interviews

These statements have been taken from interviews with released prisoners or their relatives who left Tibet in September or October 1991. The extracts describe beatings or forms of torture suffered by these prisoners while in custody. The accounts are given in the words of the translator, who uses the third person to describe what the interviewee has just said. Names and some details have been withheld where the interviewees asked to remain anonymous, usually to protect relatives in Tibet.

GC

Departure from Tibet: Mid-September, 1991

Interviewed 25 September, 1991

TIN Ref: T11(SM)

GC is a 24 year old nun from a village near Lhasa. She has been detained three times since 1987 for involvement in demonstrations and in 1990 was also expelled from her nunnery.

They were taken to Gutsa at night and handcuffed. They were kept like that all night. When the office reopened they were taken one by one and interrogated.

On the first night at Gutsa Prison they were beaten. Later they were beaten again during the interrogations. They used electric batons. There is another instrument they use. The electric baton is quite common, but there is another one. It has a box and an electric wire. They put the wires on the finger and then they turn the handle and a lot of current comes and they will become unconscious. When they were interrogated they would use this. They would turn it and make them scream loudly. Sometimes the wire would be put on the back, or the back of the neck. And then when the current comes it would make you convulse into a ball. Usually they would put it everywhere; on one of her friends they put it in her vagina. She heard it happened, she's sure, but she didn't see that. She was told by one of her friends.

They used the electric stick to beat her. Also a wooden stick. They would kick and punch. Like kung fu. And gun butts. Anything they could put in their hands, they would use. Nothing shows on the outside, but after the electric shock and electric baton she feels weak and is not so strong any more. She gets tired and has a breathing problem. It is hard to do things like climb up stairs. She has problems with her hearing if some one does not talk loud enough.

This happened only during the times they were interrogated. Interrogations were not at fixed times: sometimes it was alternating days. Sometimes they would wait 4 or 5 days. It went on like this throughout the 3 months in Gutsa.

During the interrogation they would ask generally why they did the demonstration and under whose instructions they did it. She would said, "I have acted voluntarily. I did this because we don't have human rights and we don't have equal rights." If she gave an answer like that the Chinese would say, "Why? Everyone is happy in Tibet, everything is okay. Compared to the old Tibetan government, everything is very good. Why are you doing this?"

She would say, "I didn't see the old Tibetan system, but I heard from my parents that the government was nice and that we had more freedom and we could go anywhere. Now, under Chinese rule, we don't have the right to go where we like. The only right we have is to serve China."

Before the torture they would sometimes make her take off her clothes; sometimes they would not - there was no set way. Usually they would use the prod on the face or put it down the front of the clothes [she mimes that prod can be stuck down a shirt and shock chest or breasts].

At the first demonstration she went on, 5 nuns had set out to go to demonstrate. They had left the nunnery in the night time and demonstrated in the day time the next morning. They were coming back to the nunnery. She met them on the way. She was going to demonstrate, but they were

already finished with the demonstrating. So she went back to the gampa with them. The police came to the monastery and arrested them. All of the nuns were gathered together and the police were asking them all questions about the demonstration. One policeman said "Those who want independence should stand up". She stood up, so they arrested her.... The five who had demonstrated were arrested at the same time. They were taken to Gutsa. At that time, as soon as they reached Gutsa they took off all their clothing and used the electric stick on them. After that they were interrogated without force being used and there was no more beating. One of her friends didn't tell them anything so she was made to stand on ice more than one hour, barefooted. Later on her foot was swollen and she could not wear her boot. After that they were sent back to their [cells] so she doesn't know what happened to her, or if her foot healed.

The second time she was in prison a group of nuns decided to go to Lhasa to demonstrate. They left in the night to go to Lhasa. They demonstrated in the Barkhor and did three circuits. The police didn't arrest them there. They let them go out, but after they were on the way back to the gampa, the police came and arrested them. They didn't want to do it in the Barkhor because people might have joined in.

First they were taken to a police hospital. They were kept there and their names were taken and then they were taken to Gutsa. At the time they were taken to Gutsa it was a holiday day, maybe Sunday. There were only 1 or 2 people there. They had to call the staff to come and they were quite angry about it. They put all the nuns in handcuffs and beat them until their heads were bloody. Since it was her second time they accused her of instigating all the other nuns to demonstrate. [She was bound up with rope in the so-called airplane position] Another nun, Gyaltsen Tseten, said it was not her [the interviewee's] fault, that she [Gyaltsen Tseten] had been the instigator. So she was tied up the same way, tied up with rope like that. They were tied so tightly that the skin was pinched and pulled loose. On Ngawang [Gyaltsen?] Tseten the ropes made marks that can still be seen. They put a slate [for writing] around their necks with their names and took photos. Then each nun was taken separately for interrogation, each one with three people to interrogate her. She heard a lot of screaming and crying. They beat them with their belts. They used a dog against them. She was interrogated and she didn't confess so they let the dog go against her. She had been beaten until she was just lying on the floor. She didn't even say anything when the dog came. The dog just jumped on her and bit her a little bit, but her clothes were quite thick so it didn't hurt very much.

When the person lies still, the dog won't do very much. She didn't move, so the dog didn't do very much. But then they got another idea. They wanted to make the nuns run so the dogs would attack them while running. Not her, another nun, NC: she was asked to run and then they let the dog chase her. She was frightened so she ran more and the dog attacked her. That was the only time that she saw them use the dogs. The first time they were beaten with sticks until they were broken. After that they took off their clothes and beat their bare bodies. There were two people who beat each one. They used electric sticks to beat them, they used everything. They would even beat them with the chairs. She was not beaten at that time, but her friends were. She was already tied up [airplane style] and had already been beaten. She was unconscious for much of this, but they told her about it later on.

This went on for the first 5 or 6 months, this beating and interrogating. After she made a confession she was not supposed to be beaten any more, but it depends on the individual interrogator: some of them would still beat them.

MT

Departure from Tibet: Mid-September, 1991  
Interview date: 28 September, 1991  
TIN Ref: T12(SM)

MT is a 13 year old girl from Lhasa who had taken part in two demonstrations. She was in Sangyip prison in 1990 for four and a half months, when she was 12 years old. She is now lame in one leg, and still could not move her right arm without pain. When she first started school, she was already 12 years old, but she took part in a demonstration only 15 days later. She was imprisoned and then not allowed to go back to school.

During the demonstration she and some others used a sling to throw stones and were able to break window panes in two Chinese shops. When they were shouting and throwing stones with the slings, the Wujing [Armed Police] came. So they ran away into the Barkhor to hide and in the evening they went home. On that night nothing happened. The next night nothing happened. On the third day they came and took her from her home. There was one big police van and one smaller jeep and 7 men with helmets. In the cars there were 15 or so. She and her family were watching TV at home. They had finished watching TV and were getting ready to go to bed when there were knocks at the door. It was the police. They wanted to know which one was her and which one was her brother. Then they told them to come. They searched their bedding and all over the house, and then they took them away with the vehicle. They were taken directly to Sangyip.

That first night they were interrogated one by one about their reason for taking part in the demonstration. They asked "Why were you shouting and doing these things? Who told you to do these things? Who is behind the demonstration? Where is he? Who lead the procession?" They said they didn't know, that they just did it for their county. The police said that if they said they didn't know, that meant they were telling lies, so they beat their heads.

First they were kicking her and knocked her down. Then they used an electric baton, 4 or 5 beat her. Although it was the police who took them to the prison, once there it was the Wujing who would beat them.

First they hit here [indicates head] and then she fell [indicates that she was stunned or dazed]. Then they did here and here [indicates hitting and shocking all over] and then the blood came out [indicates blood coming out of mouth] and then she doesn't remember what happened. She became unconscious. After 2 or 3 days when she regained her conscious she could not move her leg properly [indicates she could not walk; trouble with left leg]. She was taken to hospital and given some injections. They didn't take much care of her. After 15 days she was asked to wear pants made out of this [indicates material similar to a plastic bag on table]. Then she had to go to the toilets to dig out the excrement. There were 15 girls taken in a truck to Lhasa city and they had to take out the excrement from toilets. It was quite bad and their eyes all became red.

Each 4 or 5 days she would get a small beating when she didn't answer the questions properly. This continued all during the four months. Sometimes it would be 6 or 7 days between interrogation and beating, sometimes 4 or 5 days. This continued until release.

She has pain and trouble with her right arm. [She can only move it less than 50% of normal motion. She has been holding it most of the interview as if it is sore]. She can not even eat with her right hand now. She was a very healthy girl before. This is because of that beating. She feels lucky. A man she knew was beaten and had broken ribs and is in the hospital now. He is an old man and is all swollen and has to stay in hospital now. First he was in the Sangyip prison hospital, but then they had to move him to the public hospital. When she was in Lhasa he was still in the hospital. After she was released she visited him in the hospital to bring him tea, so she knows this herself. She last saw him 4 days before she left Lhasa [mid-September 1991]. He was

in prison before she was. It was from a bigger demonstration before hers.

MC

Departure from Tibet: Mid-November, 1991  
Interview date: Tuesday, 19 November, 1991  
TIN Ref: T17(SM)

MC is a fourteen year old schoolboy from Lhasa whose mother was imprisoned in 1988 for three years. He describes visiting her in prison. She died in August 1991 in May or June, 1991; the cause of death is unclear.

When his mother was in prison, sometimes he could see her. He was supposed to be allowed once each month, but he would have to talk to the guards a lot in order to see her.

She had been kicked in the stomach as soon as she had been taken to Gutsa. Her stomach became swollen. They did so several more times when they interrogated her. They said she "knew everything", that she knew who was leading the demonstrations and that she had demonstrated many times, and that she was involved. Every time she was interrogated they demanded she tell them who was involved. When she didn't tell them they beat her and kicked her.

When she was first arrested and taken to Gutsa she was put in a dark room for 1 month and 15 days. She was interrogated often, beaten and tortured. During that time she was given only 2 small dumplings to eat each day and just 1 cup of boiled water. She was not allowed to see anyone at that time. Many people tried to visit her. When they came the guards were angry and wanted to know why she had so many friends. They said she must be involved if she had so many friends. When people came they couldn't see her and she was tortured and beaten even more. When the people came they would be told "[all] those who want to see her should come on the 15th" or some date like that. Then when they came the guards said that was not the right date and gave them another date. So it was difficult for her to have visitors.

He manages to see her because he just stayed there and cried. So sometimes they finally let him see her. Then a policeman would stand with them so that he could hear everything so it was hard to talk openly. Her face was very pale. She looked very old, like someone different. Sometimes she couldn't speak properly. Sometimes his father and sister would go together with him. But usually they weren't allowed to go in, especially his father. He had the best chance to see her since he was the youngest.

Many people brought things for her, but they couldn't give it themselves. They would have to hand it over to the guards. They brought sweets, *momo* [meat dumplings], vegetables, rice and other kinds of food. But the guards would put it all into one bucket and mix it all together until it was inedible. Then they would give it to her and tell her she could eat it.

She was alone at first. Later she was in a cell with 3 other women.

At first she was very sore because of the kicking. Gradually her condition became worse. She was kicked again during the time in prison. She got worse and worse until she was in such bad condition so they had to put her in hospital. But there was no longer anything that could be done. They sent her home to die. When she was finally admitted and the doctors knew she would die, then the Gutsa police actually came to the hospital and released her. They knew she would die and didn't want her in the prison. They brought a letter to the hospital that said she was released.



# M

Departure from Tibet: Late September, 1991  
Interview date: 3 October, 1991  
TIN Ref: T13(SM)

M is a 14 year old girl from Lhasa who had worked in a carpet factory for at least 6 years until she took part in a demonstration in March 1989, when she was 12 years old. She was imprisoned at Gutsa for 2 months. She was expelled from the factory after her release, and was barred from taking up education.

There was a nun who had a Tibetan national flag in her hands. She and all the women followed the nun and shouted slogans. When they were demonstrating she saw that many Chinese shops were set fire. As they were demonstrating, many shops were set on fire along the way. They would go one way and she wouldn't know about what happened somewhere else, only what happened in front of her eyes. But she saw many things. She tried to throw stones, but mostly she just used slogans.

The next night about 7 police came to her house. Her sister was still awake but she was sleeping. Her sister said that M had been working at the factory all day and had not taken part in the demonstration. But the police said that wasn't true - the neighbours had told them she had been demonstrating and that they had her on film. So M was taken to the Barkhor police station that same night.

She was interrogated. They wanted to know who sent her. Was it the factory? Her sister? Her parents? Who led the procession? She said she went to the Barkhor just to see what was going on and to go to the market. They said that wasn't true and that she had been seen demonstrating. They said that if she didn't tell the truth they would shoot her. They pointed their guns at her. That night they were kept in a place with no roof, but there was no way to get out. There was a Tibetan who interrogated, who kept asking who instigated the demonstration, who told them to take part. They said no one had told them to come. They just went and it happened. A Chinese came and [would tell the Tibetan which questions to ask]. They would kick her with their boots and pull her hair when they asked questions. They would also threatened to shoot her if she didn't tell them the truth.

The next day they were shifted to Gutsa. There she was interrogated again and they were tortured by using the electric baton on her body [shoulders, back of shoulders and back, including lower back, are indicated] She says that after that she couldn't stand properly for 3 or 4 days.

Chinese people used to come there when they were being interrogated so they used to speak in Chinese language and they didn't understand what was being said. When she couldn't understand what the Chinese policeman was saying he would kick her on her back. When she was kneeling down he would kick her some more and then tell her to stand up. She was there for two months, but it didn't happen again.

**Jampa Phuntsog**  
Departure from Tibet: September, 1991.  
Interview date: 24 September, 1991  
TIN Ref: T25(SM)

Jampa Phuntsog, a 64 years old monk from Phenpo, had completed most of his advanced studies of a Buddhist monk when the Tibetan Uprising took place in 1959. He took part in the Uprising and was imprisoned for the next 24 years. He was released in 1983, but was imprisoned again after staging a solo protest during the Monlam festival on 3rd March 1988. He spent 3 years in administrative detention in Seitru prison in Lhasa, and fled from Tibet in September 1991, two months after he was released.

He had 6 brothers, at least 1 sister. Two brothers starved to death apparently in prison camps thirty years ago. One younger brother, now an elderly monk at Drepung Monastery, had been in prison from approx 1960 until 1983. Another younger brother, now living in Lhasa, was also imprisoned for 24 years, and released in 1983.

Jampa Phuntsog was put in jail on April 14th 1959. He was kept as a prisoner for 24 years, 6 years with a hat [indicating that he was a counter-revolutionary]; they were not allowed to talk with other people. Eighteen years as a standard prisoner.

During his retreat at Tashi Choeling in 1988, he saw a newspaper and heard a broadcast that said Deng Xiaoping had said that Tibetans could do nothing with independence. Even if the Tibetans had independence they couldn't do anything with it. They have no knowledge, they would be useless people. He got a little angry so he joined a demonstration at the Jokhang on 3rd March 1988. He started that demonstration. It was during Monlam, on one of the days when all the lamas were together at the Jokhang. He stood up to give a speech. He said Tibet is free and independent so the Chinese should go away and that the Dalai Lama is our God-King.

That day they did not arrest him. There were many special guests there, diplomats and so on, so they may have been a little shy to arrest him. So he went back to Tashi Choeling. Then on the 17th [March, 1988], three army [PAP] came calling on him. They said "you are the man that made that speech at Monlam!" He said yes. The Chinese showed a photograph of him there, so he said, "Yes, that is me. I'm ready. I've been waiting for you a long time." Then they searched his room all over but they didn't find anything. Then they put handcuffs on him, holding his arms behind his back, and took him to Seitru. It was very strict around this jail; it is for political prisoners. During that time they beat him with an electric baton. They were also beating him on the head and his hearing wasn't as good after, nor were his eyes [pantomimed sharp blows on the side of the head]. They also punched him. When they used the electric baton it would burn the flesh and pull it loose when they pulled the stick away.

They beat him very much, and then that same night they came to interrogate him. They asked him why he gave the speech and asked him if he was against the Chinese government. He replied that he did it because he wants human rights, because he thinks just as the people in the rest of the world want their human rights, so do the people of Tibet. And he said that we need His Holiness, our leader. Those are the two reasons, he said. Since he is so old, they only beat him once.

He stayed 2 years and 4 months in the prison.

**RU**  
Departure from Tibet: Mid-October, 1991.  
Interview date: 30 October, 1991.  
TIN Ref: T16(SM)

RU is a 19 year old man from Lhasa who was arrested after a major demonstration in Lhasa on 5th march 1988. He was first accused of complicity in the murder of a policeman killed on that day, but that charge was dropped and instead he was held in Gutsa for 3 months for throwing stones and breaking windows. He was a secondary school student before he was arrested, and got work as a street-sweeper after release from prison. He was not able to get any regular employment because of his participation in demonstrations.

He was arrested a week after the demonstration from his school. He was then kept in Gutsa Prison.

When he was taken to Gutsa he was interrogated. They wanted to know, "Where were you on the 5th of March?" He said he was at the monastery to see the Buddha Maitreya statue and he saw that many people were shouting and demonstrating so he went to see the demonstration. Many people were [fleeing?] from there so he fled and it was not his fault. He explained it like that.

He was told by the Chinese people that he was among those people who had entered in the room on the roof from which the policeman fell. They said he was not telling the truth so



he was kept on the back side of Gutsa, in the garden. He was kept standing there for three days.

After the three days of standing he was asked to come to the office and was interrogated. He was told that he had been in the same room where the [police was pushed]. He said he wasn't there but they said they had other people who had seen him. He asked them to show who those people were. After that they showed a letter written by one of his friends, who was also in the demonstration. He saw from the letter that his friend was also in the prison and had told the police that he [RU] was also in that room. It was true that he was there. He was in the group. But he didn't push the policeman. He doesn't know who pushed him. Another said that he jumped. So he doesn't know who did these things, but he was in the compound.

He [RU] was interrogated twenty-eight times, that means for about twenty-eight days. He was badly tortured with chains, kicking, slapping and different means. But compared with his torture, the torture of Lobsang Tenzin [who was said to have pushed the policeman and was in a cell near RU's] was beyond words. He was interrogated twice or thrice in a day and every time he was beaten and was brought back with the [signs of] torture. He has seen it. He saw that the electric baton had been pushed into his mouth so his mouth was swollen and quite big. He saw this several times.

He didn't actually see the torture. But when he was brought back to the cell they used to sit together and talk. During that Lobsang would say what happened. If he didn't get any torture that day he would say "Today I didn't get torture." If he was tortured he would say what happened.

#### Yeshe Soepa

Departure from Tibet: November, 1991.  
Interview date: 18 November, 1991  
TIN Ref: T15(SM)

Yeshe Soepa is a 26 year old unofficial monk at Ganden Monastery who left Tibet in November, 1991. He was imprisoned for demonstrating on 10 December, 1988. He served two years and three months of a three year sentence at Gutsa and was released early for having "worked hard" while imprisoned. The interviewee was kept in isolation for at least one month while he was interrogated.

He demonstrated in Lhasa on the 10th of December, 1988.

When they reached near the Tsug Lhakhang [Jokhang] the police fired and one monk was killed and another was injured. He and the others were arrested on the spot and taken to the police station near the Barkhor in front of the Tsug Lhakhang. They were kept there about a half hour and they were beaten. Then they took them to Gutsa.

When they reached Gutsa they were first beaten for a while. Then they wrote their names and other things and then were put in cells. After that they were tortured during interrogation several times. At the time of the demonstration, twelve of them were arrested together. They were kept in separate cells, one man to each cell. Then they were interrogated about thirty times over a period of about one month. Sometimes they were interrogated two or three times in one day. Other times they would wait two days before they were taken for interrogation.

During the interrogation they were asked to tell the names of other friends who took part and how they were involved in the demonstration. When he said he didn't know the names of the other monks. There was wire attached to his fingers and something they turn it [indicates turning a handle, as on a small electric dynamo]. When he said he didn't know the other people, then he was given an electric shock. It gave a shock everywhere; it felt something was coming from his stomach and his mouth... It felt as if it was sucked out. And then he would become unconscious. This happened three times. The rest of the time he was beaten with sticks or he was kicked. They used broom handles. His hands were tied and he was hung up... Sometimes from a tree. Sometimes from a window [indicates mullion of frame]. [He indicates wrists together in front of the body; not "airplane" position] They would keep him hanging for an hour. This happened twice.

Afterwards they sentenced him to three years. Later they said that as he had worked hard he would get a reduction of his sentence. He was released in mid-February, 1991.

## Account by Bagdro of Torture and Imprisonment, 1989-1991

### Introduction and Summary

Bagdro, then a 20 year old monk at Ganden monastery, was arrested in April 1988 by the Chinese police and accused of being a leader of a major demonstration earlier that month, during which a Chinese policeman was killed. He was thus one of the defendants in the most important show trial so far held by the Chinese during the unrest in Tibet which began in 1987.

Bagdro served a three year sentence, the first nine months in Gutsa detention centre and then in Drapchi prison. He was released after completing his sentence in April 1991 and, although in very poor health, later fled across the mountains to India with the intention of telling people abroad about prison conditions in Tibet.

In February 1992 Bagdro gave a statement in a series of detailed interviews to a British lawyer via a Tibetan interpreter. The text of his statement is printed here for the first time, and gives one of the most detailed accounts provided so far of the process of interrogation, torture and trial of political prisoners in Tibet.

Believed to be the first eye-witness account of a trial in modern Tibet, the statement says that the judges in his case, the most important trial in Tibet in ten years, knew that he and his co-defendants had been tortured for weeks in order to extract confessions. They imposed sentences regardless - including a death sentence for a Tibetan University student named Lobsang Tenzin. The death sentence was later commuted to a life sentence, but only because of unprecedented international pressure.

The chief judge - a Tibetan called Bu Dawa - and court officials did not intervene when soldiers in the court physically prevented the defendants from speaking about the torture sessions in prison. The soldiers later beat the prisoners for trying to complain in court during the hearings, which took place in January 1989.

Bagdro, then a 20 year old monk at Ganden monastery, was arrested in March 1988 by the Chinese police and accused of being a leader of a major demonstration on 5th March 1988, during which a Chinese policeman was killed. He was the most junior of the six Tibetans accused of involvement in the murder.

Bagdro served a three year sentence, first in Gutsa detention centre and then in Drapchi prison. He was released in April 1991 and, although in very poor health, later fled across the mountains to India with the intention of telling people abroad about prison conditions in Tibet. He is now receiving medical treatment in Paris, and will visit England in December before returning to India.

### Trial

The defendants were given three days' notice of the charges against them and one day's notice of the date of the hearing. They were not given legal advice or lawyers to defend them and were told not to mention the use of torture or beatings during the trial. In the court they were physically stopped by soldiers from describing their prison treatment. The judges did not intervene when the defendants were pulled away from the microphones, according to the statement.

The trial took place in a military camp, at the headquarters of the People's Armed Police in Tibet base, and the prisoners were driven to the court with a military escort of three army trucks with guns in place. "The whole of the outside of the prison was lined with soldiers", Bagdro recalled. There were more soldiers at all the windows of the

hall where the trial was held. "I would estimate that there were between 300 and 400 soldiers and police inside the hall," he said. The judges were eleven men in military uniform at a table on a raised platform.

When the charges were read out the defendants were allowed to disagree with them. "We were allowed to say that we had not done these things but we were not allowed to say anything about our torture. When we tried to speak about this we were stopped," said the prisoner. "My confession was mentioned and I said right away that it was taken under torture. However I was prevented from speaking further. We all managed to get out that our statements were under torture. I remember Sonam Wangdu getting it out even though he was being dragged back." Bagdro recalls that he tried to speak twice. "I said, 'If you say that I did this, where is the evidence?' I had time to say, 'where are the witnesses?'"

Lobsang Tenzin, the University student who received the death sentence for his part in the case, was able to say that their confessions had been extracted through torture, and to ask for evidence to be produced. "Then the main person said that Lobsang Tenzin should stop talking this way, and the soldiers stopped him. While this was happening Sonam Wangdu spoke up about the tortures in prison. He was also stopped. I tried to speak again, so did others. I do not know about law but I knew about the torture. Then they stuck handcuffs on all of us and took us out of the room", Bagdro says.

A copy of the official court judgement, recently obtained by TIN and signed by the chief judge, Bu Dawa, confirms the death sentence given to Lobsang Tenzin but offers almost no evidence against him.

The court document declared that the prosecution case was accurate, mainly on the grounds of the confessions. "The appellants Lobsang Tenzin, Sonam Wangdu, Gyaltsen Choephel, Tsering Dondrup and Bagdro have clearly confessed to their guilt", says the court judgement, dated 14th January 1989 and entitled *Investigation Document No. 7(1989)*. It was issued by the Lhasa Municipality People's Intermediate Court, Tibet Autonomous Region.

"I could not make out any procedure. I do not think the Chinese have any legal procedure. They simply produce and change things to suit themselves. There was no evidence produced against us," Bagdro says in his statement.

The defendants were severely beaten by soldiers after each of the two days of court hearings for attempting to speak out during the trial. "We were badly beaten again afterwards. They beat us with rifle butts, kicked and punched us," said Bagdro. "By this time we looked and felt like corpses. Sonam Wangdu was kicked on the back where the kidneys are and in his ribs and was frothing and bleeding from the mouth."

Sonam Wangdu, who had been severely tortured in Gutsa during the previous 9 months, had tried to withdraw his confession during the trial. He received a life sentence at the trial, has since become paralysed from the waist down, apparently as a result of the injuries received during the interrogation sessions and beatings.

### Torture

While the other prisoners in this case remain in custody, details are available only of the pre-trial torture used on Bagdro, who was the least important and probably the best treated of the six suspects in the murder case. Bagdro was tortured systematically for the first eleven days after he arrived at the detention centre at Gutsa, 4 km east of Lhasa.

In each session two or more officials, always different ones, tried to find out who had organised the demonstration and if there were any foreign contacts involved. The interrogators were not greatly concerned with the charge for which he was later sentenced, namely that he had hit the murdered policeman.

Six torture sessions are described in some detail in the statement. In the interrogation room when he first saw it "there was a table and on it was an electric baton, a revolver and handcuffs." Almost all the interrogators used the electric baton or cattle prod on sensitive areas of his body in their attempts to force a confession from him. Some preferred to administer the electric shock to the mouth: "When I said I had no contacts outside Tibet the Chinese stuck the electric baton in my mouth. It made my mouth bleed."

Other interrogators applied the baton to the soft area between the neck and the ears, or to the stomach, the face or the chest. One interrogation team used water to increase conductivity: "They took my shoes off and wet my feet. The electric prod was then used on the soles of my feet", Bagdro said.

The precision with which the electric shocks were applied suggests that the interrogators had been trained or had practised these techniques. "The effect of the prod is that a vibration goes into your body. It gets very hot inside and you feel that you are losing consciousness. It is also very painful," Bagdro said.

#### Chin on Chair

Two specific instruments of torture are described. On Day 6 Bagdro was forced to bend over in front of a chair which appears to have been specially made for the purpose. "You had to bend down with your hands on the ground. Then they made you put your chin on the chair. Because of the handcuffs I could not bend my hands properly so they trod on my hands to flatten them. It was terribly painful - also at my neck because my chin was jerked up by the chair. I remember screaming for my mother. Then they put electric prods on my neck, below the ear on both sides."

The combination of bending over, being hit and burnt by the electric shocks were worse than any other experience:

"This session and the position I was put in was actually the worst of all of them. I begged them to kill me. Three times I pleaded with them to do this. I said that I had nothing to tell them. They held me a whole day with no food or water. In the end I was vomiting blood. I lost consciousness twice and was revived back with water. I was asked questions until sunset."

#### Aerial Suspension

The second torture device described in the account was designed for aerial suspension: the practice of hanging prisoners by their arms. On the night of 20th-21st April 1988 Bagdro was suspended by his arms from chains attached to one of two "wooden structures" which had been fixed to a wall in the prison gardens.

"They got me onto the thing by making me stand first on a chair. They put a chain through the handcuffs. I was about a foot above the ground. I was left hanging until sunrise the next morning. At one time I lost consciousness. Both my wrists were bleeding", he says.

There have been several accounts of aerial suspension of both monks and nuns at Gutsa prison since 1987.

The eleven days of torture were followed by five days of "intense questioning" and then two weeks of sporadic beatings. Although the torture was replaced by beatings, the cumulative pressure of the different forms of maltreatment

must have been effective, because after one month Bagdro finally gave way and signed a confession admitting involvement in the murder of the policeman.

#### Beatings

The prisoner was beaten and kicked during the interrogation sessions, and on some occasions was struck with an iron bar. "They picked me up and smashed my head against the wall", he says of one session. "I had a lot of hair at this time so they were able to hold me by the hair". He was handcuffed throughout these sessions.

He was denied adequate food throughout the questioning period, and sometimes not given food at all. On day 7 of the torture regime Bagdro describes eating a dumpling he found in a toilet bowl, and later eating strips of cotton torn from his vest.

On the three day after admission to the detention centre at Gutsa Bagdro was forced to remain standing outside for three days and nights with his arms stretched out in front of him.

#### Handcuffs

Bagdro describes being severely beaten when he was first detained in April 1988 and says that the police used self-tightening handcuffs on him, which became so tight that they caused the blood vessels in his fingers to burst. "By the time I got to the monastery my hands were bleeding where the cuffs were and at the tips of my fingers", he says of the journey in the police car.

After arrival in the detention centre he was handcuffed again, and was forced to wear the handcuffs continually, day and night, until 33 or 34 days later, by which time bone was visible below the wrists.

#### Prison Conditions

Bagdro also accuses prison officials in Drapchi, the No.1 Prison in Tibet, of using electric cattle prods, applied to the anus, to force prisoners to run round in circles, and making them run carrying large weights. A prisoner named Tsering Dorje "was stripped of his undertrousers and his arms tied behind his back. Then they used the electric prod to make him run around for about one and a half hours".

"Our regime was so hard that on our way back from labour some vomited blood and some fainted", Bagdro says of the work conditions in Drapchi.

Readers are warned that they may find some of Bagdro's descriptions distressing.

#### Statement by Bagdro [Bhag-gro]

TIN Doc.Ref.: T1(XP); DB ref: Bha2

#### *Statement by Bagdro, Monk of Ganden, in exile in Dharamsala, Northern India.*

February 1992

*I am Tibetan. I was born in 1968 in the village of Gyepa [grong tsho bryad pa] near Ganden, near Lhasa. I am from Tsangdo township [tshang mdo shang] in Taktse county [rtag-rtse rdzong].*

*My father's name was Dawa [zla-ba] and my mother is Kelsang Choedron [skal-bzang chos-sgron]. I have two sisters and one brother. My younger sister is Penpa born in about 1970. In between her and the birth of my next sister there was another sister who died aged 3. My youngest sister is Drolma, who was born in about 1972. My brother, Phurbu Tsering, was born in about 1978.*

We were a farming family. At the time I was born my parents were in a difficult position and had been reduced to begging for tsampa [roasted barley]. However, things had improved a little by the time I was eighteen.

#### **Joining the Monastery**

In November 1985 I decided that I would like to be a monk. The wish to take this step came suddenly to me. I had not really thought of it before. I told my parents and they were happy with my decision.

I and my father had to go to Ganden Monastery. There we saw a monk called Lobsang Tenzin. He was a teacher. The teachers are forced by the Chinese to instruct their students not to take part in demonstrations. He had to vouch for me - in other words he had to say that I would not take part in anti-government activities and that I would abide by (Chinese) government regulations. There is a Religious Affairs Bureau that you have to go to in order to get permission to become a monk; this took a further four months. The office of this organisation is close to Ganden Monastery. It is a Chinese office. I was asked about monastic discipline and about taking part in any anti-government activities. I said that I was not aware of any such activities and that I was keen to observe discipline. I was very young and I was also keen to become a monk.

In about March 1986 permission came through for me to become a monk and soon after the Tibetan new year I wore my monastic robes for the first time.

#### **1986: A Monk at Ganden, Forbidden Books**

The most profound difference this made for me was that for the first time I became aware of what was happening. Through the scriptures I discovered about Tibet. It became clear to me the way of life that had previously been led, the type of society and the attitudes of the Tibetan people. I also read His Holiness [the Dalai Lama's] autobiography, "My Land and My People".

You could not have or read this book openly. If you were found with it you would be sent directly to prison. I had a friend named Paljor [dal 'byor] [now in India]; he was later thrown out of Ganden Monastery, Lhasa. I went into his room on one occasion and I saw this book. I told him that I wanted to borrow it. Paljor explained what would happen to both of us if I was seen with the book. I borrowed it that night and finished it the same night. This took place during 1986. I read it in my own room. I pulled a curtain across the window. I also made sure that the door was double locked. I had a friend lock it from the outside and I myself locked it from the inside. I read all night with a candle.

#### **Letter to the Outside World**

From this book and from the scriptures, I realised that Tibetans had no human rights. I also realised that having no responsibility for a wife or children it was my time now to do something for Tibet even if this meant sacrificing my life. That same night I wrote a letter in Tibetan requesting foreign nations to support the Tibetan struggle for independence and human rights. I also learned how to ask foreigners in English what country they came from. There is a hill called Norbu Ri where tourists go to take photographs. I went the next day and gave my letter to two American tourists.

I had no discussions with anyone at this time. No one dared to talk about these things. However, even before I became aware of these matters I noticed certain monks who had established links with outside people so that they could obtain certain information.

There were approximately 300 monks in Ganden. The [offices of the] main religious authorities were in Lhasa, but [they also had] a building next to the monastery. It contained

three Tibetans appointed by the Chinese. The first was not a monk. His name was Lobsang Nuri [slo-bzang nu-ri]. The second, Tashi Tsewang, was a monk. The last, also a monk, was the Gyeko or Discipline Master at the Monastery, Thubten.

After I entered the numbers admitted kept reducing. At the time I entered the monastery in all 40 of us were newly admitted as novices. Then the numbers came down to only eleven being admitted at one time. Now there are no new monks being admitted, because the monks are the main impetus for the various demonstrations, and the Chinese are very suspicious of them. [...] Of the rest of the Ganden monks some are in prison, some have escaped and some have been thrown out.

After reading His Holiness' book and handing the letter to the Americans I did nothing for a long time. The book was very powerful and gripping to me at the time, and after a while it became a real treasure and it became very important to me. I had lived in a very remote area and my awareness was under-developed. For example I now realise that when I was young if children were caught speaking strangely in such areas, the parents would get into trouble. For example, children might say they had to beg for tsampa [roasted barley flour] but they were not allowed to say [...] that it was because they were starving and because the economic situation of Tibetans such as them was very poor.

Since this time I have read books that my parents had to read when I was a child. There there are detailed rules about good behaviour and bad behaviour and punishments are set out for breaches of these rules.

Before I became active I simply did not know how to talk about such matters. Also all of us monks were very frightened.

#### **1987: Political Education Teams Move into Ganden**

Then in 1987 the Five Point Peace Plan was issued by His Holiness in America. On 27th September 1987 the Drepung monks came out and demonstrated against the Chinese; it was followed four days later on 1st October by another demonstration led by the monks from Sera monastery. Five months later this was to be followed by a protest led by monks from Ganden.

On 2nd October 1987 six or seven trucks arrived at Ganden Monastery. These had been sent by the Chinese. The trucks contained 50 to 60 people, largely Tibetans, sent by the Chinese to advise the monks not to take part in demonstrations. The Chinese thought that the monks would listen to people from the same race - that is, Tibetans - and were quite confident. But the monks refused to listen to these people, who were mainly from the Police Department and some other offices. We threw stones at the vehicles and so they were not able to come to the monastery. We had heard what had happened in Lhasa over the radio, via the Chinese News Service. The people who had come in the trucks shouted advice at us and then went on to the Religious [Affairs Bureau] office as well. This happened just before sunset.

The next day about midday they all came back again. This time they brought three or four trucks of military personnel. These were special trucks carrying maybe 100 people. They were also loaded with weapons, guns and metal rods especially designed for hitting people. They wore helmets and military uniform. Because of the presence of these military people, 50 or 60 people from the authorities were able to stay at Ganden Monastery that night. Then the military left. About two or three days later all the monks were called to a meeting, in which these people said that monks from Drepung and Sera Monasteries had been involved in reactionary work harmful to the country, and that the Ganden monks must not participate. At the first meeting the Chinese handed out newspapers and told us to study



these and that questions would be asked concerning the ideas in the newspapers in about two or three days time. These people told us how kind the Communist Party was, that it had given us religious freedom and money for the monasteries. The newspapers said that we had to wipe out "separatists" and that Tibet and China are one country, like mother and son, and that they could not be separated.

There were about 20 big meetings. Some monks said that we had no knowledge of these things about Tibetans trying to be in one country. These officials then did not know really what to say, so they asked what our hopes were. Some of the monks said that we had no hopes but that we had been told there was freedom of religion. Accordingly, [they asked], could we have back the gold Thangka [religious painting] that had been taken from Ganden Monastery and was now kept in Lhasa, being brought only once a year to Ganden? This is a sacred object for the monastery, they said. We asked if we could have it back from the Chinese. In fact, this was brought back and so was the scripture "Jam-pal lung yangsha" [Jam-dpal lung-dbyangs sha].

During these big meetings it became apparent to the officials that we were growing in solidarity. When we were told how kind the Communist Party was, monks said that religious freedom did not just mean freedom to chant mantras, make offerings and rebuild. We pointed out that the Chinese had destroyed many monasteries and stolen their sacred and precious objects. Monks said that there was nothing for the Communist Party to boast about in this, that we wanted human rights and that we wanted the Chinese to go back to China.

Following this the Chinese started to break us up into smaller groupings. It was during this time that my anger against the Chinese really grew. This was also the first time that I began to hear other peoples' views. For many of us this was our political awakening. Secret conversations began at this time between groups of two and three monks.

I do not know of any informer monks. I do know that at this time a group of pro-independence monks was formed. I did not join the group because I could see many dangers, but I knew that it had been set up.

The Drepung and Sera monks were very close to Lhasa and it was therefore easy for them to go and demonstrate. I think from an awareness point of view they must have been ahead of us.

None of us wanted to go to the smaller meetings. Because of absenteeism these meetings were unsuccessful and petered out.

#### **Police Station Within the Monastery**

Sometime in 1987, I can't remember the month, a particular issue arose for the Ganden monks. The Chinese stated that they were going to build a police office for between 20 to 40 personnel at the monastery and then build a prison next to it. The police personnel arrived. On the first night all the monks got together and we had arguments with the police personnel. The monks told them that if they were going to erect these buildings they could have the keys to the monastery because we were going home. It very nearly came to physical violence. The Chinese had put up a communications system on one of their buildings. During the struggles against the building of the police station we broke up the communications system. After we disbursed, that same night about 20 trucks arrived full of military personnel. There were another six waiting a little way away in a valley. We understood that there were a further fourteen further away. These 20 trucks were placed around Ganden. There were about 30 to 40 "round" guns [large machine guns] - also mortars and small machine guns.

That night we were supposed to have religious debates but instead we went back to our rooms. At one point during the

night soldiers came to ask us if they could have some fire. Some of these were Tibetans but mainly Chinese. We said to them that we were told that the Communist Party was very generous and that they could go and get their fire from them. The next morning all the soldiers left.

We understood that they had come to scare us in order to prevent further disorder. Whilst they were by the monastery they told us that the Drepung and Sera monks were in prison. They said to us that the Communist Party had lots more similar accommodation available, and they asked us if we wanted to share it.

#### **1988: The Monks Boycott the Great Prayer Festival**

During [January and February] 1988 there were meetings [held] by the Communists about us monks having to go to the Monlam [Great Prayer] Festival [due to take place in March]. We did not want to go. We said that if they were so keen on the Monlam Festival the Communist officials could carry it out themselves. We said that we had heard them broadcasting that there was religious freedom in Tibet. We asked why they did not go in their military uniform and demonstrate the true nature of religious freedom in Tibet. They were really desperate. They brought nice vehicles for the journey and handed out lots of money saying that it was for our retirement pensions - they gave each monk 30 yuan for our pensions, to trick the monks into thinking that we would not take part in the demonstration if we were given some money.

The quarrelling went on for one month. We had two teachers, namely Yeshe Wangchuk and Lobsang Gyatso who taught us dialectics. They were given the responsibility of making sure that all us attended the Monlam. Either we attended the Monlam Festival or they would be sent to prison. So in the end we went.

From the point of view of the Communists the whole point of the Monlam Festival was that it should go well so that it would demonstrate that there was freedom of religion in Tibet and no human rights difficulties.

There were four specially air conditioned vehicles, normally used for carrying around Chinese officials, each carrying about fourteen people. We refused to travel in the cars and went instead in four buses. Fifty people stayed behind and about 200 went.

#### **Preparations for the Great Prayer Festival**

We set off at sunset. Privately, before we went, we all took a vow in front of the Palden Lhamo and Damchen Choegyal [dam chen chos rgyal], two protector divinities, that we would sacrifice our lives and unmask the face of Communism. We all wore around our necks little pouches in which we put rice, normally used in ceremonies conferring protection, plus pills which had been blessed by the Dalai Lama, plus pieces of material from the statues of protective deities which had been newly erected. We used protection cords [krung nga sbyin 'dus] [...] to protect us. The pouches were tied with these cords. [...]

The Monlam Festival takes place in March and lasts in all about nine days. We arrived one day late, on the evening of the first day. Only new monks from Sera and Drepung had turned up; the Chinese had bribed them by saying that they could only become monks if they went to the festival.

The Drepung and Sera monks who had been in prison were released before the Monlam Festival as a result of intervention by the Panchen Rinpoche, and had been sent back from the prison to their monasteries. The day after we came to the festival most of the rest of the Sera monks came. A few from Drepung came the following morning.

There was a very big Chinese security presence. Next to the Mentsikhang [Traditional Tibetan Medical Centre] and just

below the Tsuglagkhang [the Jokhang Temple] there was a house filled with soldiers. We had a plan. There is a statue of the Gyalwa Champa [Maitreya Buddha] in the Tsuglagkhang [the Jokhang], and during the Monlam Festival this is carried once around the Barkor. We planned to take action when it was taken back inside the temple. We had planned this at Ganden.

Then, on the 15th of the first month of the Tibetan calendar [3rd March], **Jampa Phuntsog**, a monk who was staying in Dacholing [Izha chos-ling] Monastery [stood up], and spoke out during a prayer gathering. He [stood up and] said: Tibet is a truly independent nation, the owners of Tibet are the Tibetans, and the Chinese must go back to China. Then he wished long live for the Dalai Lama. Nothing happened at that point. I heard that he was arrested two or three days later but I cannot confirm this [editor's note: he was arrested on 17th March and imprisoned for three years]. Now he has come to India and is at Namgyal Monastery, Dharamsala.

We did not want the bad fortune which would come from disrupting the Monlam [while it was still in process, and so when Champa Phuntsog spoke up on the 15th [3rd March] no one else spoke. As a result the Chinese thought that we were scared and they began to relax. When we came out of the Tsuglagkhang there were plainclothes police on the roofs and plainclothes police and soldiers all along the front. There were soldiers and plainclothes police along the Barkor. They were armed with long truncheons and metal rods. They were all Chinese personnel. When the last prayer finished I came out and went to where we Ganden monks were staying near the Tsuglagkhang. I got into ordinary clothes, and so did several others. I made sure that I had my protective religious pouch. I made all the necessary preparations and put my blanket back in the truck which would take it back to the monastery.

#### 5th March 1988: The Demonstration

At this point [about 9.40am] I saw the statue of Gyalwa Champa [the Maitreya Buddha] being carried back into the Tsuglagkhang and the monks starting to chant protest slogans as they came into the Barkor. They were chanting "Tibet is an independent nation - Chinese must go back to China" and "Long live the Dalai Lama". I joined the group and was in fact leading it. The Chinese were taking video film from above, and below they were using ordinary cameras. I flung stones at these people. This was on 5th March.

There were maybe 30 to 40,000 people rioting [editor's note: in fact initially about 2-400 monks were involved, and later in the day several thousand lay Tibetans joined the protests]. The main movers in all this were the Ganden monks.

The Chinese opened fire. I had lost all fear. I was very angry. Bullets were coming very close to me. A Khampa [Eastern Tibetan] right beside me was shot in the head. He was not a monk. He died near the building that we were staying in. We broke into Chinese businesses and burned their products. We chased the Chinese away and told them to go home. We set fire to their vehicles. Bullets were coming into us like rain, and they were using tear gas as well.

Some monks were seized from the Tsuglagkhang. I saw Chinese beating and kicking them with sticks and metal bars. They tied them up and threw them into trucks like stones.

Some Tibetans burned down a Chinese hospital. Then I was hit on the head by a stone thrown by a Chinese soldier, and it started to bleed. Later I was passing down a small passage between two buildings when a group of soldiers, I think about eleven of them, rolled a boulder from the roof of one of the buildings. This came straight down on to me and

would have crushed me but a very strong woman suddenly caught hold of me and pulled me back so that the boulder just missed me. I believe this woman was Palden Lhamo, the Divine Protectress of Lhasa.

#### Death of a Soldier

At this point I lost consciousness. When I came to I was in the building where we had been staying. I do not know who took me there. There were many wounded monks around me. Several were unconscious.

I got up and went back to the demonstration. About 2pm or 3pm one of the Chinese soldiers was killed. Some say he was killed with stones, others say he was hit with a metal bar. At this point although there was a lot of fighting still going on, those Ganden monks who were still free decided to go back to Ganden. About ten of us had been arrested. Others stayed on in Lhasa, and about 250 of us went back to the monastery. I was in a bad state. My right leg was swollen and my right shoe was filled with blood from the heel which was bleeding. My hands were bleeding perhaps from throwing stones. My head was wounded. The stone had hit me near the hairline.

I passed the dead Chinese soldier. I went past the house we were staying in and came back round again shouting slogans. Then I went in. At this point officials came in from the Chinese. They were Tibetans forced by the Chinese who were terrified. We said we would go back to Ganden if they released the other Ganden monks. The monks held at this time were **Turing Chungdag** [turing = Chinese "zhuren", meaning leader], **Tashi** and another called **Topgyal**. Turing Chungdag had been made a leader by the Chinese but deep inside was still Tibetan. I only know the names of these three.

#### Flight from the Monastery, Disguised as Girl

We then returned to the monastery. On the following morning, 6th March, I tried to clean up my wounds and then I asked permission to leave the monastery. I got this from the Discipline Master [the Gyeko]. I then went back to Lhasa that night. The monastery car was going anyway. On the way I saw two of my sisters coming up the hill. They must have heard on the radio what had been happening. I had to hide from them.

When I came back into the city I could see that the place was packed with soldiers. Machine guns were in position. We drove the car close to the edge of the road and I slipped out. I had fresh plain clothes on. I slipped out of the side of the road and into Lhasa through the burning Chinese hospital. On the Barkor I was stopped by some soldiers; they asked what was wrong with my leg. I told them I lived in the Barkor. I said it had been damaged by stones and that I had been to the hospital for treatment and they then let me through to the Barkor. I went and bought some Indian medicine and used it with some butter for my wounds. I was unable to stay with anyone because the soldiers were going through the houses one by one. Instead I slept on the steps of the Tsuglagkhang, below the door where there is a huge "mani" [prayer wheel or inscription]. It was very dark. I had no blankets, and I had to get up very early to avoid being spotted. My legs were very stiff but I struggled to the market, the Tromzikhang, and slept under a stall. I had 200 yuan on me. I bought enough food to prevent myself from starving. After about seven days the people at the market started to help me. They got medicine for my legs. They dressed me as a girl. They put earrings on me and lipstick. I stayed like this for one month. I always slept outside under the stalls. The Chinese were now searching for me personally. All my friends were arrested and imprisoned.

Whilst I was in Lhasa I did "mo" [asking a Lama to throw dice to make a prediction]. The lots said I would be caught at either Shigatse or Meldrogungkar.

### **Family Under Pressure: Bagdro Returns Home**

I learned that during this time three trucks full of soldiers went to my family home. They surrounded the house and made my parents come out. My parents had to kneel whilst the Chinese searched everywhere. When they did not find me they told my parents that they had a week to produce me. They said I was a reactionary separatist and that my parents were personally responsible. My father said that his way of life and mine were quite different and that is why I had gone into the monastery. They said that I never came home and that the soldiers would have to go to Ganden. After the week the area [chu] authorities were held responsible.

On about 14th or 15th April I heard what was happening to my parents. I was very depressed. I could not bear the idea of them suffering from my actions. So early on 17th April I went home. I met my family and the villagers. All my family were crying. I got there at 6am on the 17th. At 8.30am on the 18th the Chinese came.

### **Arrested; Self-tightening Handcuffs**

There must have been spies since only my family and close friends were informed that I was back. There were two police, one Tibetan and one Chinese. They asked me my name. I told them and then they took out revolvers and handcuffs. I told them that they did not need handcuffs and bullets, that my business was dealing with the truth. They hit me across the face, called me a loud mouth, and told me to shut up. They told me they would get me back to my monastery. They hit me on the back of the neck with their fists. The handcuffs they put on me were the type which seemed to tighten themselves gradually so that in the end you bleed from your fingertips.

I was taken to the monastery in a car. By the time I got to the monastery my hands were bleeding where the cuffs were and at the tips of my fingers. When I got there I found that they had also arrested a monk, a Khampa [Eastern Tibetan], called **Penpa Tashi**. He had the same handcuffs on.

### **From the Monastery to Gutsa Detention Centre**

Next to the monastery is the Religious Affairs Bureau office and the Police Office, and we were taken to these offices. In the room we were in there were fifteen people, with other police standing around. They lived there. They brought us a piece of paper with a seal. I had to put my thumbprint on and they slapped me on both sides of the head. Then they squeezed the cuffs tighter. They put me back in the car and attached one hand to the side of the seat. It was a small Japanese car. They pressed the cuffs again really tight so that it was very painful. About fifteen minutes outside Lhasa at a place called Shangkha [shang kha] they allowed me to relieve myself. Then they took me straight on to Gutsa Prison, east of Lhasa. Penpa Tashi was also with me and there were three police including the driver. At Gutsa they twined our handcuffs together. We had to keep our hands in the air. This lasted for about half an hour. Then they brought another paper and took us further into the prison. Then they removed the handcuffs. There is a ditch inside in a place where they grow vegetables. We were put into this ditch and each given a kick in the stomach. We were then asked what we were and we said we were monks. They then gave us a further kick in the stomach.

It was getting late and so we were put into prison cells. In mine there were four other people, all there for criminal offences. They were all Tibetans.

Day 1, 19th April: First Interrogation Session, 10 hrs: Electric Baton in Mouth, Cigarette Burns, Kicking

At about 8.30am the following morning one man came for me. I was taken for interrogation, and the man who brought us there then left. There was one Tibetan and one Chinese

man. They took my fingerprints and then they interrogated me. They said that there was a pro-independence organisation in the monastery and that I must be part of it. They asked if there were connections outside Tibet. I told them that I had no connections of any sort. They asked who sent me to the demonstration. I said that I had no need for outside contacts for anyone to send me nor did I need to set up an organisation. I said that what was happening in Tibet was clear to me and that that was why I went on the demonstration.

There was a table and on it was an electric baton, a revolver and handcuffs. The first cuffs had the hands separated. These handcuffs kept them together. The Chinese was asking questions and writing down the answers. The Tibetan was interpreting. The questioning was very aggressive. The gun was slammed on the table. I told them what I thought. I thought that I would be dying anyway. When I said I had no contacts outside Tibet the Chinese stuck the electric baton in my mouth. It made my mouth bleed. He also shoved it on my face and down my chest. Both the Tibetan and Chinese men kicked me several times. The Tibetan was a bit less brutal. The Chinese man stuck cigarette ends on my face.

Then I was pressed against a wall and asked to reveal the monks involved in the demonstration. I wouldn't so they kicked me in the stomach. I can't count the number of times this happened. It seemed to happen a lot and I started to vomit and bleed from my mouth and nose. Then I lost consciousness. They poured water over me. They picked me up and smashed my head against the wall. I had a lot of hair at this time so they were able to hold me by the hair.

This type of beating happened on two occasions. The first session lasted from 8.30am until sunset. During this day I was given two small lumps of tin momo [plain dumplings] and nothing to drink. The point of the whole session was that I was supposed to know about the burning of the vehicle and the killing of the policeman. They accused me of this killing. They had no real evidence in my opinion but they did know I was wounded when I went to the monastery. By the end of the session I was very sick. Finally two new people came and carried me back to my cell. There I had no more food and no more drink.

I should say at this point that the details of my torture, in particular when things happened and for how long, are no longer clear to me. All the tortures I describe occurred. However it was some time ago and also the experiences were so traumatic that I find it difficult, for example, to place them in proper sequence. However, as I say, all the torture took place and the detail is correct to the best of my recollection and belief.

### **Day 2, 20 April: Second Session, 3 hrs: Electric Batons on Feet**

The following morning I got two small "tin momo" [plain dumplings] and one large cup of tea without milk or sugar. I cannot remember precisely but I think I was not allowed to sleep for the first three nights. Moreover the food I got in my cell was not being given to me officially but was coming from the other prisoners. I also got some potatoes at some point. During this period my handcuffs were kept on even at night.

I was still terribly thirsty and dizzy from hunger. I was taken back to the same room but there were two different interrogators, again one Chinese and one Tibetan. The same sort of things happened. The questioning was the same and the same forms of brutality were used. They took my shoes off and wet my feet. The electric prod was then used on the soles of my feet.

At around mid-day I remember having two tin momos and a handful of vegetables. Then I was taken back to my cell. There was no cigarette burning during this session. I think



that on this day I was interrogated from 8.30am until late morning.

#### **Day 2, 20 April: Third Session, 6 hrs: Standing Outside**

During the afternoon I was called back to this room again, and again there were two different interrogators, one Chinese and one Tibetan. I was interrogated for a further three hours. My hands swelled up during these days because of the handcuffs and the fact that I was having to sleep with them on.

But the other prisoners were really kind to me. I could not feed myself or go to the toilet, so they made my bed, fed me and took me to the toilet, which was a tin near the door in which one urinated and defecated. The cell was about 2m x 2m. There were five of us sharing a mattress on the floor. Three were in for stealing and one for rape.

I complained to the Chinese about the pain from the handcuffs but I cannot remember what they said.

During the afternoon session they asked questions again, but this time they were much more violent. Again it was the same form of violence and again questioning was along the lines of who sent me, who was responsible, what did I know about the killing and my activities during the demonstration. I did not say.

Then they dragged me to a place outside near the vegetable patch. There they have two wooden structures which come out of the wall. There are chains hanging from them.

For about three more hours I was standing outside. Again it was the same questions and the same techniques. I was not tied up at this time, but I had to keep my arms up against the wall. They had still got nothing out of me by about 6pm.

#### **Day 2/Day 3: Aerial Suspension, 12 hrs**

At about this time they hung me up from the structure. They got me onto the thing by making me stand first on a chair. They put a chain through the handcuffs. I was about a foot above the ground. They came back at one point and asked if I had anything to say. I did not say anything so they left me. I was left hanging until sunrise the next morning. At one time I lost consciousness. Both my wrists were bleeding and my upper arms were painful, though not dislocated. At approximately 6.30am I came to, and some time after this they took me down.

#### **Day 3, 21st April: Fourth Session, 4 hrs: Electric Baton on Neck**

Then they made me stand near a window. At sunrise I was asked to come into the interrogation room again. By this time I had been standing for maybe two hours. There were different interrogators again, but again there was one Tibetan and one Chinese. The same questions were asked. Always the same. However the Chinese interrogators could be quite skilled. They tried to get my opinion on different matters through talking to me about other things. At certain points they would also talk very gently. They told me that if I co-operated and gave names I would be released. They said that if I did not I would stay as I was. They did not make threats against my family. This session lasted about two hours. These people slapped me on my face. I was poked with the electric prod twice, each time on my face and neck near the ear (where the nerves are), then on my hands. The effect of the prod is that a vibration goes into your body. It gets very hot inside and you feel that you are losing consciousness. It is also very painful. The electric prod was certainly used on the feet in the first session and may have been used in this or other sessions too. At some point they used the prod on my stomach.

There were three chairs in the room. One was for me and I used it when I first came in and they asked my name. But

the moment they started interrogating I had to stand. I had to keep standing after that.

#### **Days 3-5: 3 Days Standing Outside**

Following this I was made to stand for the next three days and nights near the vegetable gardens with my hands in front of my face. It was April. That is winter in Lhasa. I had only one soft vest, a Chinese shirt with a zip up the front, a pair of under-trousers and a pair of cotton trousers. I had a thin pair of socks and a thin pair of shoes. It was extremely cold.

I stood all that time except when I was being interrogated. On the second day I was given some tin momo [plain dumplings], I was desperately thirsty. On the second day a Tibetan slipped me a dish. There was a ditch running nearby which had dirty laundry water running through it. I had to use the bowl when I was certain no one was watching. When I got water in it I put it on a ledge and tipped it with my chin to drink. The Chinese prison staff were watching me so it was difficult. When I was not using the bowl I hid it in the vegetables at the side. The water was not continuous but it came from time to time. I also took the odd bit of vegetable peeling from the ditch when they were washing vegetables.

#### **Day 6: Fifth Session, 10 hours: Bent over, Chin on Chair, Baton on Neck, Kicked on Back**

On the fourth day [after being made to stand outside] I was taken back to my cell so on the fourth night I slept in the cell. I was given a small lump of tin momo and the prisoners had kept one half back for me. The prisoners were allowed out to get water and that night one of the prisoners got me a mug of water. He did the same the next morning. The next morning I had a mug of plain tea [no milk or sugar] and a tin momo about the size of an egg. Then I was taken back at about 8.30am to a different interrogation room.

This time there were in the room two senior Chinese officers and two senior Tibetan officers, all from the police [the Public Security Bureau]. They had comfortable chairs. I had a small stool. On the table in front of them they had a bag of torture instruments. I was told to sit down and I was asked details about the death of the policeman and the burning of the vehicles. It was said that I must be part of the organisation in Ganden. I was asked who had contacts with the west. I said that I knew nothing of any organisation and that I had no need for contacts in the west. I said I was only one monk - why should I need contacts? I said that I did not need to work with western contacts. I said that if they killed me all the world would know. I said that I had no allies and there was no one I could denounce.

This room had another chair for interrogating. It was about 3 feet off the ground. You had to bend down with your hands on the ground. Then they made you put your chin on the chair. Because of the handcuffs I could not bend my hands properly so they trod on my hands to flatten them. It was terribly painful - also at my neck because my chin was jerked up by the chair. I remember screaming for my mother. Then they put electric prods on my neck, below the ear on both sides. The torture was mainly to my head and down the back of my neck; generally the batons were not applied to my anus or genitals. They pulled my shirt up and kicked me in the back. Their boots were metal. Sweat was pouring from me on to the floor because it was so painful.

This torture session went on through the day. They took turns. They used prods intermittently through the day and hit me with rods on the back. This session and the position I was put in was actually the worst of all of them. I begged them to kill me. Three times I pleaded with them to do this. I said that I had nothing to tell them. They held me a whole day with no food or water. In the end I was vomiting blood. I lost consciousness twice and was revived back with water. I was asked questions until sunset.



Then I was taken back to my cell. I could not walk. One of the prisoners had kept me a "momo" [dumpling]. I ate this. Then I simply lay flat. My body was in pain all over, I was very dizzy. Later I was so hungry that I ate the cotton from the inside of my blanket. I ate three big lumps during the night. I had no drink.

#### Day 7: Sixth Session, 3-4 hrs: Baton, Metal Bar

The following morning I was given another small "tin momo" and a mug of plain tea. Then I was taken to another interrogation room. Again I had two different interpreters, one Chinese and one Tibetan. I asked if I could go to the toilet. The Tibetan took me to a staff toilet. When I looked down into the bowl I saw that there was a tin momo there. I picked it up and ate it.

They interrogated me the whole morning. I had a stool to sit on. They used an electric prod and a metal bar. The bar was about two and a half feet long and maybe an inch in diameter. Again there were the same questions. This session lasted from about 8.30am until about 12am. Then I was taken back to my cell. The other prisoners had gone to do labour and I was alone. I was so hungry that I took my vest off, tore it and began to eat it.

#### Days 8-11: Torture -- Days 12-16: Intense Questioning -- Days 17-30: Sporadic beatings -- Day 31: Confession

In total, the torture went on for about eleven days. I did not have the same officers again and my interrogators were never the same people. However the same file was being used, I could see this. From the eleventh day until the sixteenth day there was fairly intense questioning, usually in the mornings, but questioning and sporadic beatings went on for a total of about a month.

During the second half of the month they would leave you alone for, say, three days at a time but then call you and really beat you up. During the sixteen days intense questioning I got just enough food to stay alive but from the sixteenth I regularly got tin momo and tea in the morning. Mid-day and evenings I got some tin momo and vegetables but no tea. I got fellow prisoners to bring me water. When we went to empty the toilet we were able to get water.

After a month I could not cope with the situation longer, so I confessed to hitting a policeman with an iron bar. They wrote out this confession. I do not know if other people also confessed but I imagine they did.

#### Handcuffs Taken Off after 34 Days

My handcuffs were taken off three days after the interrogation ceased. I had had the handcuffs on for one month and three days. It was so bad that when I moved one hand to one side, the other automatically followed it. I could see the bone on my left hand below the wrist, below the thumb and index finger. Now when I write I still shake. My head used to shake too at the same time as my hands did. I can hold handles but I tend to drop things so I have to hold the underneath of bowls, for example. Months 2-6: Cell No. 4

One day they took me to have my photograph taken. I had to hold my handcuffed hands in front of my chest holding a piece of paper which had my name on it. Many photographs were taken. Then there was no more questioning and I was left in my cell. A further six months was like this. I was in cell number four. Later I was moved to cell number one. There were twelve of us including myself. I did not know them before. We were all political prisoners and were kept together for four months. There were three monks from Ganden. We were as follows:

**Tsering Dondrup**, from Nechung [monastery]; **Tamdrin** [rta mgrin], from Ganden [monastery]; **Lobsang Tenzin**, a student

from the top class [ie, the class for the oldest students] in the University in Lhasa; **Sonam Wangdu**, a trader; **Gyaltzen Choephel**, an ordinary Tibetan; **Tsering Dorje** (known as Tsing), a official for the Communists who sold tsampa [roast barley flour], rice and flour in Lhasa; **Lobsang Dargye**, a monk from Sera; **Tsering Nyima**, another trader; **Pema Rinzin**, an ordinary Tibetan; **Merwana**, a Khampa.

#### 3 Days Before Trial: Charges - Splittism and Murder

Then six of us were accused of being the leaders of the demonstration and being responsible for killing the policeman. Besides me these six were: **Sonam Wangdu**, **Gyaltzen Choephel**, **Tsering Dondrup**, **Tamdrin** and **Lobsang Tenzin**.

Each of us was given a sheet of paper with the crimes we were accused of. It was in Chinese and Tibetan. I no longer have mine but it said:

1. I was one of the leaders of a splittism movement.
2. I was one of the leaders of the demonstration.
3. I had killed a policeman.

I was given the charge sheet three days before the court appearance. We were all taken outside together to be given the charges, and we were all asked together if we wanted a representative. We were told that the representative could be anyone - parents, friends or whatever - as long as they knew about Chinese law. We said that we did not want representatives because we felt we could represent ourselves. We knew that if we nominated someone, for example if I nominated my father, then they would go to him, put pressure on him and tell him what he could say and what he could not say. We were also told that we could have a witness to prove our innocence if we wanted.

During the three days after the charge sheet was given to us we were kept in separate cells. After this no one spoke to us at any point about evidence or procedure. The possibility of lawyers was not specifically mentioned, just representatives. One day before we went into court we were given a small slip of paper notifying us about the court appearance. It had our name and address on it.

#### Month 9, January 1993: Court Trial, Day 1.

We were taken for a "trial". This was after about one year [actually 9 months] inside Gutsa Prison. We were taken together. That morning each one of us had two military escorts with weapons on their belts. They were wearing white gloves. The whole of the outside of the prison was lined with soldiers and there were three huge military trucks with guns in position. The soldiers had our arms behind our backs. We were taken into a bus filled with soldiers. The windows were all blacked out so that you could not see outside and no one could see us. The truck loads of soldiers went in front. We were taken to a large military base - the Wu-ji Tsongdu [the People's Armed Police Assembly]. This is just below the Chakpori [the hill in western Lhasa which formerly housed the old medical centre but now has a radio mast on top of it].

It was publicly announced that we had committed serious crimes, of which one was the killing of a policeman and another was being the leaders of a reactionary, splittist group. About 500 people were admitted to this "trial". All had been given passes. I think they were chosen principally with an eye to which people or groups needed to be intimidated. The trial took place in a large hall within the military base. There were soldiers at all the windows where we disembarked from the bus. Outside the base were loads of people trying to give us food and drink. We could hear them shouting that they would demonstrate unless food and water was brought to us. However, they were kept out. There is no doubt that the Chinese were scared that the people in the hall might demonstrate. The inside of the hall

was completely surrounded by soldiers with guns at the ready. I would estimate that there were between 300 and 400 soldiers and police inside the hall including the senior people. This court was constituted by the Peoples' Disciplinary Court, the highest court in Tibet.

#### **Bagdro's Statement to the Court**

We were allowed to say that we had not done these things but we were not allowed to say anything about our torture. When we tried to speak about this we were stopped. My confession was mentioned and I said right away that it was taken under torture. However I was prevented from speaking further. We all managed to get out that our statements were under torture. I remember **Sonam Wangdu** getting it out even though he was being dragged back.

There were eleven men in military uniform at a table on a raised platform. We were brought in one by one to be dealt with. I was brought in last. The man in the centre was the main man. He said that they were going to make statements about us and that if we disagreed that we were free to say so. This man went on to say that Tibetan independence will never happen and that we were only bringing suffering upon ourselves. He said that we were picking up stones to damage ourselves with.

When I went in the man spoke to the whole hall and talked of my crimes. This man spoke for fifteen minutes publicising my involvement. He said that I shouted for Tibetan independence following the Monlam festival on 5th March, that I threw stones at the security force, that I was involved in the killing of a security man and that I was the leader in shouting for Tibetan independence. He said lots of other things.

I then tried to tell them about Tibetan independence but the soldiers at my side stopped me. The microphone was in front of me. When I went to speak in it the soldiers dragged me away. They pulled me back about two metres, gripping me painfully in the side. Everybody could see this. Tibetans in the meeting shouted out, "Let him speak! You are only having your side of it!"

I tried to speak twice. I said, "If you say that I did this, where is the evidence?" I had time to say, "where are the witnesses?". They could not have done anything because the Chinese had nothing to show. None of us gave evidence about each other.

I could not make out any procedure. I do not think the Chinese have any legal procedure. They simply produce and change things to suit themselves. There was no evidence produced against us.

This man, who was Chinese, spoke and then a Tibetan interpreter.

The Tibetans in the hall booed and jeered when the man talked of our crimes and said that we were free to speak.

Before we had been taken from the prison to the court, just before we left, we had been told not to say anything about the beating. In the court I tried to tell about this too. We did not have the chance to speak together before we went in. When we tried to speak at the meeting we were handcuffed.

After me, **Lobsang Tenzin** spoke up. He said that Chinese law was nothing but lies and that they were extracting confessions through torture. He quoted the legal code and said that they did not have evidence to prove their charge. When he finished the hall broke into clapping. Then the main person spoke and he was jeered. He said that **Lobsang Tenzin** should stop talking this way and the soldiers stopped him. While this was happening **Sonam Wangdu** spoke up about the tortures in prison. He was also stopped. I tried to speak again, so did others. I do not know about law but I

knew about the torture. Then they stuck handcuffs on all of us and took us out of the room.

#### **After Trial Beating**

This was a first meeting, presumably to establish our crimes. We were taken out by a side entrance to the outside. There we were heavily beaten. There was a big courtyard which had many Chinese soldiers in it. There were about 20 soldiers to each one of us. They beat us with rifle butts and metal rods and they kicked us.

I would estimate that the proceedings in court lasted about one and a half hours. There was a very, very tense atmosphere. We were taken back to prison in separate cars. I and **Lobsang Tenzin** were sent back in a small car with four Chinese soldiers carrying automatics. We were in bad condition. I thought I was going to be killed. I raised my head but they slapped my face and thrust my head down. They held me with a rifle at each ear.

#### **Trial Day 2: Verdict and Sentence**

After this we were in individual cells again. The next day we were taken back to the court. A total of twelve people were taken to the court including the original six that I was part of. The additional six were four nuns, plus one lady in her thirties who was pregnant and one old lady. Three were taken in one car, namely **Tsering Dorje**, **Penpa Rinzin** and **Tsering Nyima**. The others including the ladies were in another vehicle.

Other Ganden monks were brought from Seitru Prison. These were **Yulu Dawa Tsering**, **Penpa Wangdrag**, **Phuntsok Gyaltsen** (lphun tshogs rgyan mtshan), **Gyazar** (rgya gzar), **Tsondru Tarchen**, **Kunsang Tsering**, **Chungdek**, **Tsering Sonam**, **Tashi**, **Pasang**, **Sonam**, **Palden**, and **Thubten Tsering**. All of them were Ganden monks apart from the last who was a monk from somewhere else.

We were all were brought into the court together. The same people were on the platform with the same audience. This time, however, there were an extra 20 men on the platform, maybe 31 in all.

I think there may have been a total of about 30 of us prisoners including those I have mentioned. Our crimes were read out and then the punishment. This lasted about one and a half hours. I was convicted of killing a policeman, throwing stones at the police and taking part in a demonstration. Everyone in the hall knew that this was a farce. The offences didn't even quite match the original charges. There was no real attempt at thoroughness. I was sentenced to imprisonment from 18 April 1988 to April 1991.

I cannot remember the date of the trial [editor's note: it was January 1989]. We were not allowed to speak on this second occasion and the audience did not dare to say anything.

**Lobsang Tenzin** was to be executed within two years. **Sonam Wangdu** was given life imprisonment, **Gyaltsen Choephel** was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, and **Tsering Dondrup** got 10 years. **Tamdin** was sentenced to 5 years and **Bagdro** to 3 years. **Lobsang Tenzin** is still alive. There has been a lot of international concern and support and only this has kept him alive; his sentence was later reduced to life imprisonment.

At the very end after the sentence the man announcing the sentences said that if we disagreed we were free to say so.

#### **After Trial Beating 2: Appeals Rejected**

We were badly beaten again afterwards. They beat us with rifle butts, kicked and punched us. By this time we looked and felt like corpses. **Sonam Wangdu** was kicked on the

back where the kidneys are and in his ribs and was frothing and bleeding from the mouth. **Sonam Gyalpo** (he was not one of us six but his sentence was announced on the same day) (he had been imprisoned since taking part in a demonstration on 27th September 1987) was pierced near his eye by the point of a rifle. His eye was badly swollen and blue.

Then we were taken back to prison for one month. We were kept separately - on the same wing but in different cells. When we went back to prison we were told that we had ten days to write down our complaints. Four of us did this, but not me. I could not write this because I knew it would be useless (note: he may also have been illiterate). Also, I thought it would be used against us. I think the four who did complain or appeal asked to be shown the evidence against them. I did not and Tamdrin did not. The rejection of the complaint or appeal came back 20 days later in writing. Each one got a letter. Even Tamdrin and I got letters we although we hadn't put in an appeal. It said that whatever decision had been made stood.

#### **Drapchi Prison**

On 14th April 1988 we were all taken to Drapchi Prison, the biggest prison in Tibet. It is in Lhasa.

At Gutsa we had had ordinary clothes but at Drapchi we had to wear the blue prison uniform - this was a huge one piece thing made of thin cotton which you had to wrap round the body. There was a thin cotton shirt underneath. We were given a large pair of boots. The uniform seemed designed to degrade the prisoners. We were also given a hat of very thick cotton. We were told that decisions had been made in our case and that we were there to have our minds changed. We were told that the others in prison were there for stealing and killing. We later learned that they had called a meeting before we came warning people not to mix with us or to eat our food. Otherwise, they were told, they might catch the same disease.

But in fact the other prisoners were very glad to see us. They immediately shared tea with us and were very respectful, calling us "kusho", which, like "sir", is the respectful way of addressing monks.

I was in Block (rukhang - literally "unit") Two. Each block had thirteen cells. Others were in Blocks One and Four. Block Three was for women only. In my block there were between 75 and 100 prisoners and out of these only six were Chinese; all the rest were Tibetan.

I was put to labour, namely splitting rocks and laying bricks. The people in Block One had to plant vegetables. The people in Block Two did what I did. The people in Block Four had to turn over the soil in an apple orchard.

In my block the ordinary Tibetan prisoners tried hard to make it easy for me. They were so proud of me that they would not let me work! After a while the prison authorities told us political prisoners off. They said that we should be working harder, that we were the real criminals. People in Lhasa were also bringing food. They brought meat, butter and tsampa. They also brought tinned pork - lots of food. In Drapchi food is allowed in. We were not able to eat in our cells but we could eat in a supervised place. We spread the food around the other prisoners. The authorities told the other prisoners that they were eating "the food of the undesirables". The prisoners also washed our clothes. This went on for just under a year.

#### **Creation of Block Five**

By 1989 many political prisoners had been moved in and the authorities decided that we were "infecting" the other prisoners. All the political prisoners were put in a new block, Block Five. There were 85 of us. From then on we were not

allowed to speak to other prisoners or to pass things to them. I was kept there for two years.

The Chinese authorities say that the political prisoners are treated well but in fact they sought to treat us worse than the others. When we were taken for meetings other prisoners sat on chairs but we were made to sit on the bare floor. There was one of these meetings a month. The purpose was to study newspapers. We were given journals to read for, say, fifteen days and were then asked questions such as "Is Tibet independent or not?" The journal was the "Tibet Daily" - chiefly the views of the Chinese leaders. Even ordinary prisoners had to answer these political questions. There would be over 600 at these meetings: the whole prison was there. The Chinese said that Tibetan independence must not happen because it was bad for us. It would revive the old Tibet where for the few there was a good time and for everybody else it was awful. We had to put a stop to all splittist activities.

#### **Executions**

Before the segregation Lobsang Tenzin was in Block One with Tashi, a monk from Ganden, together with Migmar Tashi, who was serving a life sentence, and Dawa, who had been sentenced to death with two years suspension. These four had written down the details of prison life and the arguments for independence. This was discovered. They were taken away and interrogated for a month in other prisons. When they came back they were manacled by the legs.

In [17th May] 1990 they called all the prisoners in Drapchi plus those in other prisons and explained the crimes of these four men. Tashi had his sentence extended from three to nine years. The Chinese couldn't do anything about Lobsang Tenzin as there was a lot of international attention on him. The other two, Dawa (aged 27 years) and Migmar Tashi (aged 19 years), were going to be executed that day. The place was full of soldiers. Their hands were tied behind their backs. They smiled as they were led away.

For some time after this we were deeply depressed.

#### **Political Study, Beatings, Forced Running**

After Block Five was created we were made to study the Chinese version of Tibetan history for about 20 days. If we disagreed with it we were tied up, made to run, and beaten. In fact we all disagreed throughout the 20 days. The first who did this were treated very badly. They were the brave ones. After this it became difficult for them to single people out because we were all disagreeing.

All political prisoners had to go for a run in the morning. This was for two and a half hours from 6am - 8.30am. It was around a playing field. The old and the ill had to run too. If anybody wasn't able to keep up the pace they used the electric prod on their anus. **Sonam Wangdu** is now permanently bent from the beating he received at the court. He has to use a stick. I saw them take the stick from him and burn it in the cooking fire. For about fifteen minutes they punched and kicked him. They said that he was faking his difficulty. That day while everyone had lunch he was made to empty the womens' toilets. I and others tried to help but the Chinese beat us up. One morning he was taken to the apple orchard and beaten and subjected to the electric prod. We heard him calling for his mother and asking to be killed. Then we saw it as we were going to work. They were striking him across the face. We were all deeply upset. We wept.

One day when it was our turn to be working in the orchard they singled him out for another beating. He was considered to be politically much more undesirable and also he was a life prisoner.



In the orchard we were each given a section to complete. If you didn't complete it then you suffered. Dawa, the monk from Ratoe Monastery near Chushul, couldn't finish his. He was beaten up and made to stand for three hours by way of punishment.

We had lunch about 11.30am after the morning's labour. In the afternoon there was supposed to be a break but the political prisoners didn't get this. Instead we were made to run from 12am to 6.30pm. This was in the apple orchard. Those who couldn't run were given the electric prod. Dawa, the monk from Parlu [Phalulupuk] Monastery, was one of these. He got the prod all over his face. There were sick and old people in our group. The two who had chains on their feet were made to stand. Our regime was so hard that on our way back from labour some vomited blood and some fainted.

One night for no reason at all six Chinese police came and took four political prisoners out. These were **Tenzin Phuntsok**, a monk from India who had later returned to Tibet. He was hit on the shoulders with a gun. He was crying. The other three were **Choephel Tsering** from Drigung, **Tsering Sonam** from Ganden and **Pan-ta** [Pan Ita] from Lhasa Tsomoling. They were all beaten. Another man, **Tsering Dorje** (Tsing), was stripped to his undertrousers and his arms tied behind his back. Then they used the electric prod to make him run around for about one and a half hours.

Another thing they made you do was to run with a stone on your back. Three men, **Dawa** from Ratoe, **Dawa Wangdu** from Tsuglakhang [the Jokhang], and **Ngawang Kunga** from Drepung were made to run for about half an hour like this.

#### **Involuntary Blood Extraction**

Another episode happened in 1990. The Chinese said that they were going to give us medical examinations and that those who were badly ill were going to get treatment. In fact what happened was that they took blood from our left arms - the front elbow pit. My recollection is that the bottles were about 3" long and 1" in diameter. No one was medically treated. They told us to put sugar in our tea and drink it. Two people were taken ill: **Thubten Tsering** and **Lobsang Tsondru** (an old monk in his 70s). They were placed in bed. Most of us felt dizzy. Only Tibetans were obliged to do this. None of the Chinese prisoners were obliged to give blood. The Chinese said that this was because the Chinese blood was "no good". Every Tibetan prisoner in the prison had blood taken. The Lhasa people heard of this and there was an outcry. Because of this Chinese doctors were sent to the prison and they did conduct some medical examinations. They took the weight and height of prisoners and did an electrocardiogram and took a heartbeat count. It was rumoured that the blood that was taken was for use by the Chinese military.

#### **Death of Lhakpa Tsering; Lack of Treatment**

**Lhakpa Tsering** formed a political group called the Snow Lion Group who had joined in the demonstration in Lhasa on 5th March 1989. He was aged nineteen and he had been the leader of the group. He was brought from Gutsa Prison to Drapchi in 1990. He had been badly beaten in Gutsa and had pains in his abdomen and in his back. He told me this himself. On about 7th or 8th December he complained of severe pain. The other prisoners shouted for help and medical treatment. They [the staff] shouted back at us that we were splitists and must die. They said that he was only suffering from bad food.

He was eventually taken to the hospital. He was injected. Witnesses - I cannot remember their names, but they were also political prisoners - said he was stabbed with a needle as though he was an animal. **Lhakpa Tsering** told the doctor that he could not eat tsampa [roast barley flour, the Tibetan staple food] but only rice soup. The doctor said to him, "When you went on the demonstration you called on all

tsampa eaters to join you [a slogan used by the demonstrators to rally support from other Tibetans]. So now you can eat your tsampa!"

On 10th December he was taken to the Police and Military Hospital. He was kept there until the evening of 14th December. I heard that he was given an injection and medicine and that following this he felt much better and was able to walk about. Then just before he reached the prison blood and froth came from his mouth and he became very weak. None of us actually went with him but this was widely spoken about afterwards. At 10.30pm that night he vomited a great deal of blood and he died. He died in the prison medical unit.

There were ten Tibetan prisoners who had to clean up his blood. None of the political prisoners were allowed to go near him. In order to do this the prisoners were quietly asked to come. These were people in our block who were supposed to keep an eye on us. They were called secretly in the night. They stayed in Block Five, cell four. We suspected that another prisoner, **Ngawang Kunga**, the monk from Drepung, who was sick in the hospital, might have died. On the morning of 15th December we found out that **Lhakpa Tsering** had died.

#### **1st Prison Demonstration**

We were extremely disturbed by this. He was a good, capable young man and very well liked. We thought we were all for it so we staged a demonstration. We said that we would do it despite whatever might happen. We took sheets and wrote on them that we wanted better treatment for political prisoners and that we wanted to be able to mourn the death of **Lhakpa Tsering**. When the workers came in we told them that we were on a demonstration. Firstly we wanted to look at **Lhakpa Tsering's** body as this was part of our cultural traditions. Secondly we wanted to know whether the Chinese considered us as human beings or not. Thirdly we wanted a witness at **Lhakpa Tsering's** funeral. We wanted all these things settled that day. The officials said that it was illegal to demonstrate in prison. We said that we were not against the law but had been forced into this position. We told them to look at the way they were treating us. Our fourth demand was that we wanted all those medical personnel involved in killing people out of the prison together with all those who could not respect human rights. We wanted these people replaced by people who could respect human rights. We had made many complaints in the past but nothing had been done.

We did not get to see **Lhakpa Tsering's** body. They asked us why we wanted to see it. We said that this was the way things were done in our culture. We went on a hunger strike. The Chinese begged us to eat food at the end of that day. They agreed that there could be a witness at the burial site at Sera. But in the end they did not let a witness attend. **Lhakpa Tsering's** body was returned to his home. The Chinese were not going to do this originally but there was a threat of another demonstration. They took **Sonam Wangdu**, me and quite a few of the older political prisoners. We saw the stretcher that **Lhakpa Tsering** was supposed to have been on. There was lots of blood on this. Whilst we were on hunger strike we shouted that the Chinese had poisoned him. His body was taken to the burial site behind **Sera Monastery**. In formal attendance were one of the military judges, a Tibetan from the Tibetan medical centre, and the man who cuts up the body and feeds it to the birds. We heard later that the lips, nails and the gums were black. There was evidence of bruising, with clots formed below the surface of the skin, and also intestinal damage. Basically his whole body was damaged. Wall posters went up in Lhasa saying that he had been murdered by poison. The Chinese had to prevent a major protest. However the prisoners felt that we had achieved something. We felt happier and things became more relaxed.



## US Ambassador Visits, Hands Over Letter; Isolation Cells

The prison authorities took several of us, me, **Sonam Wangdu**, **Tsering Dondrup** and **Tashi Tsering**, the one from Shigatse, to the prison hospital. I was in there when a delegation of American visitors came on 7th April 1991. Prior to this we heard that the prison authorities had dressed up criminal prisoners in nice clothes in Block Five, let them play Shoh [a game] and even have classes that day. However we were kept hidden. They locked up Block Five and pretended that Block Four were the political prisoners who had "changed their minds".

Just before the American delegation came, **Lobsang Tenzin** and **Tenpa Wangdrag** were able to come to the hospital. These two had written information about how the prison functioned and how **Lhakpa Tsering** and the other two had died. They had it all ready to give to the delegates. The Americans were swamped by escorts and were carefully watched. As they came out of Block Four **Lobsang Tenzin** and **Tenpa Wangdrag** rushed to them and gave them the information. The female Chinese interpreter grabbed the message. When the Americans saw this they asked if this was the Chinese policy of human rights. Then the delegates and the police left and these two men were placed in windowless cells with handcuffs.

I came back from my hospital stay on 9 April 1991 and heard all this. At that time the two men were still in the darkened cells and the other political prisoners were getting ready for another demonstration. I wanted to join. I said that we were all in this together, and we should win or lose together. However the other political prisoners said that I should not do this as my prison term was nearly over. I should go out and make known to the world what was happening at the prisons. Everybody was crying when we discussed this. They told me that my job was to try and escape to India or otherwise do my best to make known what was happening. I was released ten days later, on 18 April 1991.

## Court Decision on Bagdro and Five Others

The trial of the six alleged murderers of the Chinese policeman Yuan Shisheng took place on 14th January 1989, ten months after the six men had been detained.

The court was headed by a Tibetan called Bu Dawa, who would have been acting under the orders of unknown officials from the Party's Political-Legal Committee. The court sentenced **Lobsang Tenzin** to death, with the execution suspended for two years, and sentenced four of the others to 5, 10, 15 and 20 years respectively.

**Bagdro**, accused of hitting the dying policeman with an iron bar after he had been thrown from the window, was described as an "accomplice" rather than a "principal instigator" and was sentenced to three years in prison.

The court judgement appears to rely almost entirely on the evidence of the surviving victim (presumably Chang Yusheng, whose statement was published in *Tibet Daily* on 22nd March 1988) and on the confessions given by the accused. No other witnesses are cited in the judgement and no reference is made to attempts by the defendants to state that their confessions were extracted under torture.

**Lobsang Tenzin** is hardly mentioned in the judgement and is not described as a principal instigator even though the court gave him the most severe sentence. All the defendants appeared without lawyers to act in their defence. **Lobsang Tenzin** had two "witnesses", who were not lawyers, acting in his defence and the other five men defended themselves.

This translation is taken from an 8 page text written in Tibetan, stamped with the official stamp of the Lhasa Municipality Intermediate People's Court [TIN Ref: Doc 4(XP)].

**Investigation [Judgement] Document of the Lhasa Municipality Intermediate Court, Tibet Autonomous Region.**

**(1989) Lhasa Legal Investigation Document No. 7.**

Once a month visitors are allowed to see people in the prison, and the next prison visit was due to take place on 20th April. I told everybody that a demonstration was taking place in the prison and that the prisoners said that they were going to continue demonstrating until the two men were released from the [isolation] cells. Their relatives decided that they would try and visit anyway (although as part of their protest the prisoners would probably refuse to meet visitors).

I learned of what happened next from others. The soldiers forced three of the prisoners - **Penpa** from Tsomoling, **Gyada**, a monk from Ganden, and **Tenpa Phulchung**, an elderly gentleman from Lhasa - to meet the visitors. The three of them shouted for the release of the two men in the darkened cells. They were then seized and beaten, even though their relatives were watching this. They were placed in dark [sensory deprivation] cells, small rooms with just enough space for a little tin pot to urinate in.

A week later the five detained men were all sent to Powo Tramo, another prison, in Kongpo, far from Lhasa [350 km east]. They were sent there on 27th April 1991.

## 2nd Prison Demonstration Suppressed

There was a strong demonstration inside the prison. All the political prisoners shouted that they wanted to go to the same place. That day they nearly broke out of the prison. The military base is quite close and the soldiers were called in to put down the protest. They kicked them and used metal rods, sticks and guns, and many people were badly beaten. Then 20 prisoners were put in the dark [sensory deprivation] cells in handcuffs. Thirty others had manacles. All of them were bleeding.

All of the five sent away to Kongpo are in dangerous condition, and **Sonam Wangdu** is in a particularly bad state.

After coming out I felt lost. I felt that I should demonstrate again.

State prosecutors [gzhung gtug-mkhen]: **Tsedron**; **Tashi Norbu**.

Appellant: **Lobsang Tenzin**, male, aged 22, Tibetan nationality, resident of Lhasa, former student of University of Tibet in Lhasa, residential address: Inner Door No.1 of Outer Door No.11, Banakshol, Lhasa Municipal area [sbrang zhol], presently in prison.

Appellant: **Sonam Wangdu** [bsod-nams dwang-'dud] alias Shung Tir [shung tir] aged 33, Tibetan nationality, resident of Lhasa, address Inner door No. 45, Outer Door No. 2, Smaller Alleyway [srag-lam chung-wal], Lhasa Municipality, presently in prison.

Appellant: **Gyaltsen Choephel** [rgyal-mtshan chos-'phel] male, aged 20, Tibetan Nationality, resident of Lhasa, address Inner Door No. 2, Outer Door No. 42, Banakshol Alley, Lhasa Municipality, presently in prison.

Appellant: **Tsering Dondrup**, male, aged 28, Tibetan nationality, resident of Lhasa, former student of the Buddhist School of the Tibet Autonomous Region [Nechung], address Inner Door No. 2 of Gate No. 6, Liberation Street No. 2, Lhasa municipality.

Appellant: **Tamdrin** [rta-mgrin] male, aged 22, Tibetan nationality, resident of Gyama Village [rgya-ma dron-tshol], Meldrongkar County, former monk of Ganden monastery, presently in prison.

Appellant: **Bagdro** [bag-gro], religious name Champa Choephel [byams-pa chos-'phel], aged 20, Tibetan

nationality, resident of Dragdog village in Lamo District [Chu], Takste [stag-rtsel] County, [Lhasa Municipality], TAR, former monk of Ganden monastery, presently in prison.

Witness [dag-'bud byed-mkhan - defendants for the accused, ie., defence advocates]: Ngawang Thrinley [Ingag-dbang 'phrin-las] and Kalsang Dawa, staff of the TAR Daily Office [Bod-jjong tshag-par las-khung].

On 14th May 1988, the TAR Lhasa Municipality People's Procuratorate submitted to this Court the case of the appellants Lobsang Tenzin, Sonam Wangdu, Gyaltsen Choephel, Tsering Dondrup, Tamdrin and Bagdro, charged with manslaughter and counter-revolutionary activities.

This Court appointed Bu Dawa as the Presiding Officer [krang/zhang, leader] of the Investigations, Ngawang Sonam as Investigator [Judge] and Champa Ngodrup as Assistant Investigator [Judge]. These three constituted the Legal Hearing Committee [khrim-ra - literally "the enclosure of Law"]. Tenzin Kunga was appointed the legal clerk.

Tsedron and Tashi Norbu from the TAR Lhasa People's Procuratorate acted as State Prosecutors, and Ngawang Thrinley and Kalsang Dawa participated as defendants [dag-'bud] to Lobsang Tenzin.

Appellants Sonam Wangdu, Gyaltsen Choephel, Tamdrin, Tsering Dondrup and Bagdro had no defendants arranged and so acted as self-defendants [in their own defence].

On 14th January 1989, the Department [thing] of this Court, in accordance with Law, proceeded with the legal process of investigating the matter, listening to the recommendations of the State Prosecutors, recording the statements of the Appellants and listening to their statements, those of the Defendants, and, considering their final statements, the following points have emerged relating to the case:

On 5th March 1988, on the occasion of the annual celebration of the Monlam Chenmo [the Great Prayer Ceremony] when the image of Gyalwa Jampa [the Maitreya Buddha] is taken out in a procession, Yon Hre Hren [Yuan Shisheng] and Yang Yuzhen [Chang Yusheng] of the People's Armed Police were on duty on the third floor of the Pomda Tsang building at 8 o'clock. Around 10.30 a.m. a few separatists shouted revolutionary slogans [in support] of "Tibetan Independence" and caused a disturbance. During the course of the disturbance, appellants Sonam Wangdu, Gyaltsen Choephel, Tsering Dondrup and Tamdrin arrived on the roof-top of the Pomda Tsang building and hurled stones at Yuan Shisheng and Chang Yusheng who were carrying out their duties. The stone hurled by Sonam Wangdu hit Yuan Shisheng helmet and smashed it. The two soldiers had no alternative but to jump on to the third floor balcony. At the same time Sonam Wangdu brought two more stones and hurled them at the two soldiers who had landed on the balcony. One stone hit the neck of Yuan Shisheng. The two had no choice but to withdraw into the toilet of the third floor. The above named appellants then went in search of the two Chinese and finally when they located them in the prison [the place where they were trapped, ie., the toilet], the appellant and his accomplices smashed the door and beat up Yuan Shisheng and Chang Yusheng with stones and [the policemen's] electric batons. Consequently Chang Yusheng sustained serious injuries while Yuan Shisheng had lost consciousness and had fallen to the floor. During the course of the beatings, Sonam Wangdu hit Chang Yusheng twice on his back with a stone while Tsering Dondrup also snatched the electric baton from Chang Yusheng and not only beat him up at will but also took off the victim's helmet and hit him hard on his head with the electric baton. Gyaltsen Choephel kicked Chang Yusheng twice on his stomach [rgyud smad]. After that Lobsang Tenzin, Gyaltsen Choephel and Tsering Dondrup and others asked Chang Yusheng to jump out of the toilet window. Then Lobsang Tenzin first caught hold of Yuan Shisheng and then Gyaltsen

Choephel and Tamdrin lifted up Yuan Shisheng and together they pushed him through the toilet window from the third floor, a height of over 5 metres. Bagdro, who had just run down to the ground with a metal rod in his hand, hit Yuan Shisheng several times. Yuan Shisheng succumbed to the multiple injuries sustained [from being] hit on the head with a blunt weapon, [and including] severe brain concussion sustained after falling from a height as well as injuries to the chest and stomach. Although severely wounded, Chang Yusheng survived because of immediate medical attention which he received.

The foregoing incident having been confirmed as being accurate through the corroboration of statements through witness letters [written statements], legal medical opinion, first-hand account by the victim of the attack and the availability of firm witness, the appellants Lobsang Tenzin, Sonam Wangdu, Gyaltsen Choephel, Tsering Dondrup and Bagdro have clearly confessed to their guilt.

In the opinion of the Department of this Court, appellants Lobsang Tenzin, Sonam Wangdu, Gyaltsen Choephel, Tsering Dondrup, Tamdrin and Bagdro are held guilty of pre-meditated murder through severe beatings to personnel of the People's Armed Police leading to the death of one soldier and grievous injury to another during the course of the disturbance caused by them on 5th March.

Appellants Sonam Wangdu, Gyaltsen Choephel, Tsering Dondrup and Tamdrin are the principal instigators and therefore the main culprits and shall be given heavy punishment.

As for appellant Bagdro, being an accomplice, his case shall be decided according to the decision of the Legal Inquiry Committee and the Investigation Committee of this court in accordance with articles 13, 23, 24 and 53 of the PRC Criminal Code, as follows:

Appellant **Lobsang Tenzin**, being guilty of pre-meditated murder, is sentenced to **death**, to be carried out after 2 years suspension, and his political rights shall be withdrawn for life.

Appellant **Sonam Wangdu**, being guilty of pre-meditated murder, is sentenced to **life imprisonment** and his political rights shall be withdrawn for life.

Appellant **Gyaltsen Choephel**, being guilty of pre-meditated murder, is sentenced to **15 years** and his political rights are withdrawn for 5 years. [The sentence is effective from 5th March 1988 to 5th March 2003.]

Appellant **Tsering Dondrup**, being guilty of pre-meditated murder is sentenced to **10 years** imprisonment and his political rights are withdrawn for 3 years. [The sentence is effective from 12th March 1988 to 11th March 1998.]

Appellant **Tamdrin**, being guilty of pre-meditated murder is sentenced to **5 years** imprisonment and his political rights shall be withdrawn for 1 year. [The sentence shall be effective from 16th April 1988 to 15th April 1993.]

Appellant **Bagdro**, being guilty of pre-meditated murder, is sentenced to **3 years** imprisonment and his political rights shall be withdrawn for 1 year. [The sentence shall be effective from 19th April 1988 to 18th April 1991.]

In case any appellant is not satisfied with this sentence, the appellant may, either in writing or orally, appeal to the TAR People's Court through this court, within ten days of the receipt of this sentence counting from the second day of the receipt of this sentence.

14th January 1989  
TAR People's Intermediate Court Departmental Committee  
of Criminal Investigation  
Presiding Officer of Investigations [Chief Judge]: Bu Dawa



TIBET INFORMATION NETWORK

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# Tibet Information Network TIN News Compilation, October 1993

## Reports from Tibet 1992-3

### Part 4: - EC Visit to Tibet, May 1993: - The Arrests of Gendun Rinchen & Lobsang Yonten

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#### High Level EC Delegation to Visit Lhasa May 17th-22nd

TIN News Update / May 7, 1993

Twelve European Ambassadors are due to arrive in Tibet on 17th May for a six day visit in what will be the highest level foreign delegation to visit Tibet.

The visit of the Ambassadors, who are the Beijing-based representatives of the EC countries, is a response to a strongly worded resolution passed without a dissenting vote by the European Parliament on 15th December last year. The resolution - which presented the views of the Parliament, not the Commission - expressed "deep anxiety" about the "continued denial of the Tibetan people's right to self-determination", and called for EC assistance to China to be conditional on "the observance of basic human rights and freedoms" in Tibet.

It also called for the different Tibetan areas under Chinese control to be unified into one political unit, a highly sensitive demand, and for human rights improvements such as the release of all political prisoners. Other detailed demands were made concerning environmental and cultural protection, including a demand that the Potala Palace should be placed under the supervision of UNESCO.

Beijing accused the European Parliament of interfering in China's internal affairs and in December summoned the EC's Ambassador in Beijing, M. Pierre Duchateau, to the Foreign Affairs Ministry to receive a complaint. The Ministry offered the EC the opportunity to visit Lhasa in order to check the accusations made by the Parliament.

One EC official described the mission as offering an opportunity to European Governments to check the validity

of "contradictory reports" circulating about conditions in Tibet. Another official, speaking off the record, noted that the mission would be only "as strong as its weakest link", a reference to the conciliatory line taken towards China by countries like Italy and Spain.

Observers have expressed concern about the likelihood of the Ambassadors seeing any signs of the repression or discrimination referred to in the resolution, which was submitted after over 2 years of research and discussion. Tibetans who try to speak to the delegates without authorisation are likely to suffer serious repercussions.

The EP resolution complains that delegations to Tibet have been hampered by limitations on their movements, a reference to earlier reports that delegates have been followed by plainclothes police and that in at least one case the Chinese authorities stopped a team from bringing an independent interpreter.

Since late 1990 when a Western mission was first allowed to visit a Lhasa prison the Chinese authorities have removed armed police and sentries from the streets of the capital, and last year remote controlled cameras were installed to monitor the Tibetan quarter of Lhasa, further reducing the visibility of the security apparatus.

The effectiveness of previous official missions has largely depended either on extensive briefing by the participants before leaving for Tibet, or on having Tibetan-speaking specialists on the delegation. Neither of these is likely with the Ambassadorial trip. Political delegations to Lhasa are notorious for coming to conclusions to suit their political leanings. In 1989 a British parliamentary delegation said that Lhasa was "relaxed", unaware that 1,000 people had taken part in a protest two days before the delegation arrived.



There have been at least 7 official delegations looking at human rights and conditions in Lhasa since the Chinese first allowed such visits 3 years ago, with teams going from Scandinavia, the US, Australia, Switzerland and Austria.

### May 13th Arrests in Lhasa

TIN News Update/May 19, 1993/

Three Tibetans were arrested from their homes in Lhasa a little over 48 hours before the arrival of the European Community delegation in Tibet.

The Tibetans are accused of being involved in monitoring human rights conditions in Lhasa. They had made plans to contact the EC delegation during their visit to Tibet, according to sources within Lhasa.

The delegation, consisting of Ambassadors or representatives from the Beijing Embassies of the 12 EC Countries, arrived in Lhasa on Saturday 16th May on a one week visit to Tibet, under the leadership of the Danish Ambassador Mr William Friis-Møller.

The three Tibetans were arrested from their homes in the Ramoche area of Lhasa shortly before midnight on Thursday 13th May.

Two of the detainees were men, and the third was a woman.

One of the men is named Gendun Rinchen, age 46, born in Markham in Eastern Tibet. Gendun Rinchen, who worked as a tourist guide in Lhasa, is well known amongst both foreign tourists and Tibetans for his expertise as a guide.

The second man arrested is named Lobsang Yonten, also known as Tsasur choenzed, a former monk from Drepung Monastery near Lhasa, now living in the Ramoche area. He is described by sources in Lhasa as "an older man". Further details are not available.

No details are available concerning the woman arrested at the same time. Further arrests are expected.

### Arrests and Fear of Torture during Diplomats' Visit

TIN News Update / May 19, 1993

Reports are coming in of a wave of arrests in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa, amidst growing fears that three key prisoners arrested last week are being tortured in prison. The arrests could torpedo last-minute attempts to get President Clinton to renew unconditionally China's special trade privileges with the US, due for renewal by June 3rd.

Dozens of suspected dissidents are said to have been detained in Lhasa in the last few days, according to claims received today from unofficial sources in the city.

The arrests appear to be an attempt to prevent Tibetans from disrupting a visit to Lhasa by a group of western diplomats representing the 12 countries of the European Community.

Most of the detainees picked up this week are likely to be released after the delegation leaves on Sunday 23rd May, say the sources in Lhasa, who have asked not to be named.

But there are grave concerns about the welfare of three Tibetans who were arrested shortly before midnight on Thursday 13th May, a little over 48 hours before the delegation arrived.

Police are believed to have accused the group of planning to deliver a letter to the diplomats about human rights conditions in Tibet. Passing of information about human rights conditions to foreigners is regarded in Chinese law as

an act of espionage, which in certain circumstances carry the death sentence.

Sources in Lhasa say that there is a strong likelihood that the prisoners will be tortured by police trying to find out if anyone else was involved in the alleged plan.

Last September photos were smuggled out from a Lhasa prison showing two prisoners who had been paralysed for life, apparently as a result of ill-treatment in prison.

One of the three detainees arrested last Thursday, 46-year old Gendun Rinchen [dge'dun rin-chen], from Markham in Eastern Tibet, speaks good English and is well known to foreigners as one of the best tour guides in Lhasa. Rinchen was arrested along with an elderly man, Lobsang Yonten [blo-bzang von-tan], also known as Tsasur choenzed, a former Buddhist monk from Drepung monastery. The third is a woman, whose name is not known. All three lived in the Ramoche area of Lhasa and are reportedly being held incommunicado.

The diplomats, who include 8 Ambassadors and 3 representatives from the Beijing Embassies of 11 countries in the European Community, are half-way through a week-long inspection tour of Lhasa and Shigatse. They are the highest-level western delegation to visit the troubled Himalayan region, which has seen over 150 pro-independence demonstrations since 1987.

The prisoners could face severe sentences if the authorities accuse them of trying to pass information to foreigners. 3 years ago a Tibetan doctor, Jampa Ngodrup, received a 13 year prison sentence for espionage after handing a list of prisoners to a Tibetan who lived in India. In 1992 a teacher, Jigme Zangmo, received an 8 year sentence for shouting out a slogan while the Swiss Ambassador to China was being shown round a Lhasa prison.

Amnesty International called this evening for Gendun Rinchen and Lobsang Yonten to be released unconditionally unless charged with a recognisable criminal offence. "Tibetans whom the Chinese authorities have accused of possessing information on human rights violations in Tibet have been ill-treated in detention and sentenced to lengthy terms of imprisonment following unfair trials", said the human rights organisation.

The news of the arrests of the three Tibetans could cause embarrassment to members of the Chinese hierarchy who want the US President to renew China's status as a "most favoured nation" in trade privileges. Unless the prisoners are released unharmed within days, the arrests will hinder final attempts being mounted by the US State Department to persuade President Clinton to renew the trade privileges without attaching any conditions.

### EC Diplomats Urged to Abandon Visit

TIN News Update / May 21, 1993

Pro-Tibetan Lobby Groups in London and Washington called tonight for the EC delegation to cancel its tour, which includes visits to four schools and one prison as well as two official banquets, unless the prisoners arrested apparently to prevent them contacting the delegation are released. It is the third time in two years that Ambassadorial visits to Tibet have led to arrests and harassment.

The diplomats, part of a delegation representing the 12 countries of the European Community, are the highest level foreign delegation to have visited the Himalayan region. But so far it is a case of everybody knowing the facts except the fact finders: Western Governments can't get hold of their diplomats to tell them what is happening, and Tibetans cannot pass on the news without risking imprisonment.



The Chinese authorities are believed to have rounded up dozens of Tibetans just before the delegation arrived on Sunday 16th May, according to unofficial reports received by monitoring organisations in London. Three other Tibetans, including a former Buddhist monk and 46-year old Gendun Rinchen, a well-known tour guide, are known to have been in a Lhasa prison since Thursday 13th May, reportedly for writing a letter which they planned to deliver to the diplomats. Any such action would be viewed by the Chinese as an act of espionage, according to experts.

The British Government has reacted strongly and says it will ask its delegates currently in Tibet "to look into the issue as a matter of extreme urgency", and noted that it had asked all the other EC governments to send similar messages to their delegates. But after two days the British and other European Governments were still unable to get hold of their diplomats in Tibet.

"We have been trying to contact the delegates, but they are out and about, and we haven't so far succeeded", said a spokesman for the British Foreign Office yesterday evening.

#### **Demands for Withdrawal**

The week-long EC visit, which is being led by the Danish Ambassador to Beijing, Mr. William Friis-Møller, was arranged by the Chinese last December in an attempt to refute allegations made in the European Parliament of human rights abuses in Tibet.

The diplomats were in Shigatse, Tibet's second largest city, yesterday, continuing their tour of schools, hospitals and renovated monasteries. On Friday evening 21st May Mr Friis-Møller and his team are due to return to Lhasa to hold a banquet in honour of the Chinese Government.

The Tibetan Government in exile said yesterday 20th May that the diplomats should demand the release of the three Tibetans detained since May 13th. "Otherwise their visit to Tibet should be cut short," said Tseten Samdup, spokesman for the Dalai Lama's London office.

Demands for withdrawal of the delegation had been made earlier by the Tibet Support Group UK, a London-based lobby group, and the International Campaign for Tibet, which is based in Washington. This afternoon a group of British Parliamentarians delivered letters to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, calling for drastic action to be taken over the arrests.

"If the UK representative is not able to ensure the safety of the prisoners or secure their release, he should immediately withdraw from Tibet," said Dr. Norman Godman, MP., Chair of the All Party Parliamentary Group for Tibet, in a letter he handed to John Major this afternoon.

The American Government is so far refusing to comment on the arrests, but an unnamed State Department official said this evening that "we have no confirmation of these reports but we are looking into them".

Western Ambassadors have had a disastrous track-record in Tibet. At least 5 Tibetans were badly beaten and put in solitary confinement in 1991 after the then US Ambassador James Lilley allowed the Chinese police to snatch out of his hands a petition the five prisoners had given him. In December 1991 a Tibetan prisoner shouted a slogan during a visit by the Swiss Ambassador and later received an 8 year jail sentence. In both cases no attempts appear to have been made at the time by the Ambassadors to protect the Tibetans who approached them, and the Governments only took up the cases when the news was published months later by monitoring organisations.

A second Western delegation arrived in Lhasa yesterday 20th May, which also might be unaware of the arrests that have taken place. The team of six MPs from the Foreign

Affairs Committee of the German Parliament, under the leadership of Dr Hans Stercken, is due to spend two days in Tibet. The delegation includes Oscar Schneider, former Minister for Building.

The EC delegation includes Ambassadors from Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Spain, and the EC, together with Ministers or First Secretaries from France, the UK and Greece. Belgium is not represented.

#### **EC Suspends Programme - Chinese Admit Arrests** TIN News Update / May 22, 1993

A team of Western Ambassadors on a human rights fact finding visit in Tibet has suspended its tour there after Chinese authorities confirmed this morning that three Tibetans had been arrested in Lhasa shortly before their arrival, according to a diplomatic source in Beijing.

Monitoring organisations in London had reported on Wednesday that the three people, 46-year old Gendun Rinchen, a tour guide, Lobsang Yonten, a former monk, and an unnamed woman, had been arrested late on 13th May reportedly for planning to deliver a letter on human rights to the delegation.

The Vice Governor is reported to have said that the woman had now been released. But there is widespread concern about the welfare of the two known prisoners, Gendun Rinchen and Lobsang Yonten, who could face severe ill-treatment or torture in jail for their plan to contact the delegation, according to a statement issued by Amnesty International on Wednesday.

The EC Delegation is due to leave for Beijing on Sunday and it is not known if they have insisted on meeting the prisoners - one of whom, Gendun Rinchen, is a tour-guide known to speak English - or on remaining in Lhasa until they are released.

This morning there were calls for the Ambassadors to denounce the Chinese authorities for attempting to undermine their objectives of the delegation.

"The delegation should remain in Lhasa until it has secured the release and guaranteed the safety of all those arrested", said a spokesman for the Tibet Support Group UK, a London based lobby group.

The Eight Ambassadors and 3 representatives of 11 EC countries on the delegation had been due to host a banquet in honour of the Chinese authorities this evening Saturday 22nd May before their departure for Beijing on Sunday morning.

The decision to suspend a delegation in Tibet or China during its visit is unprecedented, according to experts in London.

No details are available about the wave of other arrests, some of which were thought initially to be short-term preventive detentions for the duration of the delegation's visit. But the news this morning that arrests are still continuing suggests that a much wider operation is being conducted throughout the region by the Chinese authorities.

#### **Tour "Modified" not Suspended, say Diplomats** TIN News Update / May 22, 1993b 1740 hrs extracts

A Chinese leader in Tibet has admitted to a team of European diplomats that three Tibetans have been arrested for their political activities, as had been reported by Western monitoring organisations on Wednesday.

The EC delegation has "reduced its programme" following the revelations by the Chinese authorities, said the Beijing-

based diplomat. Diplomats denied that they had completely suspended the visit but said the delegation is "continuing its tour, albeit with some modifications", according to one diplomatic source in Beijing, who asked not to be named.

Meanwhile arrests in and around Lhasa are said to be continuing, according to multiple reports from sources in Tibet contacted by the Tibet Information Network, an independent monitoring organisation based in London. Reports coming in this morning say that the wave of arrests is still continuing, with two unconfirmed reports putting the number of arrests connected to the delegation's visit at well over 100, including a large number of arrests taking place outside the capital, according to a separate source within Tibet.

The change in the delegation's programme came after one of the top officials in the Tibet Region was effectively summoned to an unscheduled meeting with the Ambassadors this morning.

The EC delegation, which is on a fact-finding visit focussing on human rights, had earlier suspended its programme until it received a satisfactory explanation from "a competent Chinese security official" about the reports of widespread arrests in Lhasa, according to a statement released by an Irish Government official in Dublin last night. The official said that the delegation "had decided not to participate in any further part of the programme of events" until given an explanation for the arrests, but the shift today suggests that the diplomats may have softened their views.

During the unscheduled meeting with the delegation this morning Dondrup, Vice-Governor of the Tibet Autonomous Region, admitted that the three arrests had taken place last week, but denied that they were connected to the delegation's visit, according to a diplomat in Beijing. Dondrup confirmed the detention of the three prisoners who had been identified by Western monitoring organisations.

He also confirmed that Western reports that the Tibetans were being held on suspicion of political activities, according to a member of a German Parliamentary delegation which returned to Beijing from Lhasa today.

One of the three prisoners has since been released, said Dondrup - but there is confusion amongst diplomats about which one. There is no sign yet as to whether the delegation has asked to meet the released prisoner or the two still in custody.

The vice-Governor said that the two Tibetan "splittists" had been detained well before the arrival of the delegation and "had been under observation for some time", according to the German Parliamentarians.

#### Summary of Events 21st-22nd May

There were unconfirmed reports on Friday 21st May that arrests were continuing in Lhasa, presumably short term detentions designed to stop people from staging protests during the anniversary. Earlier in the week an unknown number of people are reported to have been arrested to prevent them disrupting the diplomats' visit.

On Saturday 22nd May the Chinese authorities in Tibet confirmed the arrest of three Tibetans in Lhasa and indicated that others, whose names are not known, have also been imprisoned in the last few days. The rare confirmation of the three arrests was provided by Dondrup, one of the vice-Governors of the Tibet Autonomous Region, who had to address an unscheduled meeting of the delegation on Saturday morning.

The meeting had been called after the tour programme was abruptly suspended when the diplomats were informed by their Embassies on Friday of the reported arrests. Earlier in the week, before their departure for Shigatse, they had been

told categorically by the Chinese that there were no such arrests, according to a diplomat quoted in today's *Daily Telegraph*.

The German Parliamentary delegation was reported as saying, incorrectly, that the tourist guide had been freed, according to one report.

Vice-Governor Dondrup confirmed to the EC delegation that **Gendun Rinchen**, a 46 year old tour guide, and **Lobsang Yonten**, an elderly former monk, had been arrested, though he denied that the arrests were connected to the delegation's visit. He claimed that a woman, **Ngodrup Wangmo**, had been arrested with them but had since been released. Chinese officials gave the name of the tour guide as **Rinchen Gendun** rather than **Gendun Rinchen**.

The 8 Ambassadors and 3 high-level representatives on the EC delegation did not ask to meet the woman who had been released. The diplomats asked for but were refused permission to see the two who are still held in prison "on suspicion of splittist activities", according to Vice-Governor Dondrup.

In certain circumstances a Tibetan accused of "splittist activities" - Chinese jargon for supporting Tibetan independence - can be sentenced to death, although the Chinese are not known to have executed a political prisoner in Lhasa since May 17th 1990, three years ago last week.

The Vice-Governor appears to have confirmed, by implication, reports from western monitoring organisations that there had been more than the three acknowledged arrests during or shortly before the Ambassadors' visit.

"He said yes, there had been a number of arrests, but no, this figure [of 100] was very amiss", said one Ambassador quoted by Reuters today. Dondrup refused to give an official figure for the recent arrests, according to the diplomats.

The Ambassadors reacted to the Vice-Governor's speech by changing the banquet scheduled for the last night of their tour into "a working dinner on human rights". It is not yet clear whether the Chinese saw this as a diplomatic snub or as a token gesture designed to placate public disapproval from the Ambassador's home countries.

On Friday night the diplomats had reacted speedily to unofficial reports of the arrests by suspending their tour completely until they had received a satisfactory explanation from the Chinese authorities. After the speech by Dondrup the tour programme was re-continued for its last day, but with the banquet cancelled.

#### EC Delegation Returns - Tension Increasing

TIN News Update/May 24, 1993

Conditions were tense and growing more tense in Lhasa yesterday 23rd May following the conclusion of a fact-finding tour by a team of western diplomats, according to sources in the city.

Some of those arrested on short term detention to prevent incidents during the diplomats' tour or Sunday's anniversary may have been released, according to one unofficial report from Lhasa.

The diplomats left Tibet at 6.30 in the morning yesterday Sunday, just hours before the beginning of a sensitive anniversary during which the Chinese authorities in Tibet celebrate what most Tibetans see as the invasion and annexation of their country.

Sunday 23rd May is the 42nd anniversary of the signing of the 17 Point Agreement in 1951, a day celebrated by the Chinese as the symbol of the "Peaceful Liberation" of Tibet by the Red Army. On the same day two years ago

thousands of Tibetans were obliged to take part in Chinese victory celebrations, but probably continue to view the occasion as the anniversary of a foreign invasion.

Reports today Monday say tension is increasing and there are preliminary and unclear indications of incidents in the capital as of 1200 gmt.

#### EC's "Deep Concern" for Prisoners, Gendun Rinchen

TIN News Update / June 1, 1993b extracts

This afternoon, 1st June, the 12 countries in the European Community issued a joint statement which strongly criticised China's human rights policy in Tibet. The EC countries expressed "their disquiet at the general human rights situation of the Tibetan people and urged the Chinese authorities to ensure that these rights are fully respected".

Their strongest criticism was reserved for the arrests last month of Tibetans, including Gendun Rinchen and Lobsang Yonten, who are known to have been planning to contact the delegation during its week-long visit from 16th May.

"The Community and its member states were deeply concerned by reports of arrests of Tibetans, including of Mr Gendun Rinchen and Mr Lobsang Yonten, before and during the visit to Tibet", the statement began, indicating that it regards the arrests as the central issue in current developments in Tibet, and in relations with Beijing.

The statement gave an unusually frank account of the steps taken by the EC to obtain the release of the prisoners, all of which were rejected by the Chinese authorities. During the visit "the representatives tried to obtain full clarification from the Chinese authorities and requested that those detained were released at once. They also requested access to them", said the statement.

The EC states called for foreign observers to be admitted to the trial of the prisoners if one takes place. "The Community and its members states will continue to seek full information from the Chinese authorities in Peking," it said tonight.

The EC members also expressed "concern" about reports of police action against demonstrators in Lhasa. However, the Chinese Foreign Minister, Qian Qichen, told a press conference in Tokyo today that there had been no deaths, injuries or arrests in the recent disturbances in Tibet, according to a Reuters report.

This conflicted with a statement last Tuesday by a police spokesman in Lhasa that eight police had been injured, some of them seriously, during the protests on Monday 24th May. A Hong Kong Chinese-language newspaper, Ming Pao, reported on 28th May that one member of the People's Armed Police had died after a tear-gas canister which he was about to throw exploded in his hand. Two others were injured in the same incident, said Ming Pao, citing an unnamed Tibet Government official.

#### Other Tibetans Arrested Before Delegation Visit

TIN News Update / 17 June, 1993 extracts

More details emerged today about other Tibetans arrested last month in an apparent attempt by the authorities to prevent people contacting a team of diplomats who visit the Tibetan capital in mid-May.

There has been no news of Gendun Rinchen since the Chinese Foreign Ministry announced on 25th May that he and his neighbour, Lobsang Yonten, a former Buddhist monk, were being held for stealing secrets.

A woman is now known to have been arrested in connection with the two prisoners, according to unofficial sources in Lhasa. The woman, Damchoe Pemo, who also lived in the Ramoche area of Lhasa, was arrested on 20th May, one week after Gendun Rinchen was taken away by police.

A woman, later named by the Chinese as Ngodrup Wangmo, was arrested at the same time as Gendun Rinchen, probably by mistake. She was released within a day, according to information given on 22nd May by Dondrup, a Vice-Governor of Tibet, in an emergency meeting called by the diplomats after they heard of the arrests of the tour guide and others.

The Vice-Governor did not inform the Danish Ambassador, Mr William Friis-Møller, leader of the EC delegation, that Damchoe Pemo had been arrested in connection with this case two days before their meeting.

At least ten friends or acquaintances of Gendun Rinchen had been arrested before the tour guide was detained on 13th May, including Lobsang Yonten, who had been arrested on 11th May, not on 13th May as originally reported, according to two separate sources.

The arrests in the first week of May included a man called Tseten Dorje who was arrested at 2 am on 8th May, according to the sources in Tibet. Other names are awaiting confirmation.

The four prisoners are believed to be held at Sangyip prison complex in the north-eastern suburbs of Lhasa, probably in the section known as Seitru or "Section Number 4", a detention centre used on previous occasions by the State Security Police.

The arrests followed the discovery in late March of a number of documents in the house of a Tibetan couple from the Banakshol area of Lhasa, who were detained for nearly two weeks, according to unofficial reports from Lhasa.

The documents led to the arrests of two monks suspected of involvement in underground groups. One of them, Loden, a 51 year old monk from Gyu-me Tantric College in Lhasa, was arrested at the end of March, and the other, Nyima, a 28 year old monk at Ganden Monastery, born in Meldro Gyama, was arrested on or just after 2nd April. Both had been imprisoned previously for political offences. Their present condition is unknown.

#### Text of EC Demarche

*European Commission, Political Division, 1st June 1993, 15.48 hrs.*

"The Community and its member states were deeply concerned by reports of arrests of Tibetans, including of Mr Gendun Rinchen and Mr Lobsang Yonten, before and during the visit to Tibet which their representatives in Peking undertook on May 16 to May 23rd 1993. During the visit the representatives tried to obtain full clarification from the Chinese authorities and requested that those detained were released at once. They also requested access to them. If there was any question of bringing individuals to trial they urged the Chinese authorities to facilitate the presence of foreign observers. The Community and its members states will continue to seek full information from the Chinese authorities in Peking.

"The Community and its member states are also concerned at subsequent reports of police action against demonstrations in Lhasa.

"The Community and its member states, having received reports from their representatives who visited Tibet, expressed their disquiet at the general human rights



situation of the Tibetan people and urged the Chinese authorities to ensure that these rights are fully respected.

"The Community and its member states believe that the problems of Tibet can best be resolved through dialogue between the Chinese authorities and the representatives of the Tibetan people, including its spiritual leader the Dalai Lama, and urge both sides to engage in this without pre-conditions."

The statement issued on 1st June by the European Community received little response from the Chinese authorities.

The EC statement "contains inappropriate comments on the affairs of Tibet, which is an interference in China's internal affairs", said a Foreign Ministry spokesman on 4th June. He gave no further information about any of the prisoners.

#### Summary Report of the EC Delegation

In July the EC Governments issued to their parliaments a brief summary of the report prepared by the EC Ambassadors in Peking after their Tibet visit. In an introduction to the British publication of the report a British Foreign minister, Alastair Goodlad, implied that the opinions of some EC members states had been stronger than those expressed in the consensus report. "The summary reflects the consensus among all the Member States", wrote Mr Goodlad. "In spite of the diplomatic language it does bring out the key points about the situation as seen by the EC group". The full report, produced on 26th May 1993 in Peking, has not been issued to the public.

#### Report of the community and its member states on Tibet.

1. During the period 16th May to 23 May 1993 the EC Ambassadors in Beijing conducted a mission to Tibet. It was organised as one of the fact-finding missions the Ambassadors regularly undertake to various parts of China.

2. The mission was planned in cooperation with the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the authorities of the Tibet Autonomous region in Lhasa. An extensive programme was drawn up in response to requests put forward by the Embassies. The programme included meetings with the Vice-Governor of Tibet Autonomous region (in the Governor's absence), and the Commissions for Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation, Planning and Development, Health, Education and Nationalities and Religious Affairs. Meetings were also held with the People's Supreme Court and the Security and Justice Departments. In addition, the delegation visited Drapchi prison in Lhasa, several monasteries and Shigatse, Tibet's second largest city.

3. Requests by the delegation to visit a "Reform through Labour" camp and either the Garu or the Shungsep Convent were turned down.

4. A list of some 50 Tibetan political prisoners was handed over to the local authorities with a request for more information concerning the prisoners. The list had been presented to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Beijing prior to the visit to Tibet. The list had been consolidated based on information from several human rights groups.

5. Early in the visit, the delegation obtained information that a large number of people, including Gendun Rinchen,

Lobsang Yonten and an unnamed woman had been arrested. These 3 Tibetans were said to have complied data concerning the situation in Tibet to be presented to the delegation. The delegation sought an explanation from the Chinese authorities in Tibet, and requested the release of the detainees. In addition, the delegation asked if meetings with the detainees could be arranged and whether foreign observers could be present at their trials. The Chinese authorities said that the woman, named Ouju Wangmu (Ngodrup Wangmo), had been released, and denied that the arrests were connected with the visit by the delegation.

6. At the request of EC Ambassadors, the programme was changed to include another formal meeting at which the delegation repeated its request for more information about arrests which had occurred prior to the delegation's visit.

7. The heads of EC Missions informed the Chinese authorities that they would be pressing further about these arrests and would seek to remain informed about the situation of Tibetan detainees.

8. It is difficult to obtain reliable, accurate and up-to-date information concerning Tibet. Parts of the region are off limits to foreigners. Evaluation of information obtained from various sources, including the mission of EC Ambassadors to Tibet, allows the following general conclusions:

- There are obvious discrepancies between official information and information obtained through other sources and through visual observations.

- Harmonious relations between Tibetans and Chinese living in Tibet are not existing. The Chinese presence is supported by large military and security forces. Contacts between Tibetans and foreign visitors are hindered.

- Official figures that Han Chinese make up 3% of the population are understated. Many Chinese in Tibet are not registered locally.

- Increased economic activity has brought more benefit to Chinese newcomers than Tibetans.

- Use of Chinese language in official documents etc. is a barrier to the advancement of Tibetans.

- In theory primary and secondary schooling conducted in Tibetan is available. However, the intentions are not always realised, especially in the countryside. Amongst Tibetans in rural areas there is a high fall-out rate and a large number do not attend school at all.

- Though religious activity by individuals is not suppressed, and there is evidence of extensive renovation of major religious sites, there are, however, considerable doubts as to whether religion receives the freedom of action and funding at an organisational level, which would allow religion to achieve its full potential as a fundamental part of Tibetan culture and identity.

9. After the mission left Tibet, demonstrations were held in Lhasa. The Community and its Member States have expressed their concern at subsequent reports of police actions against the demonstrators. (Statement by the Community and its Member States, Copenhagen 1 June 1993.)



## Tibetan Appeals to the EC Delegation

Although a number of Tibetans were arrested before the arrival of the EC Delegation several Tibetans managed to send documents to the delegates giving their view of the situation in Tibet. All of the documents are appeals to the international community to help the Tibetan people gain freedom, independence, human rights or democracy. Most of the appeals focus on social and economic issues rather than on arrests and torture, and reflect the same concerns about increasing prices, school fees and medical charges that were to lead to major protests in Lhasa ten days later. They associate these economic changes with the movement of Chinese migrants into central Tibet, and particularly into Kongo, south west of Lhasa.

The Tibetans also sent copies of these documents to TIN, and five are reproduced here. Most of the writers did not know exactly who the delegates were, and some thought they were representatives of the UN. One, which is more informed, written some days after the arrival of the delegation, gives an indication of the steps taken to prevent contact with the diplomats: "During the visit of the European delegation, the Chinese have deprived us of the right to approach and speak to you ... What we have told you is the truth: we don't have any rights. We don't want to remain under Chinese oppression: we beg you to help us to liberate Tibet more quickly," it says. All were written in Tibetan in the second or third week of May.

### **Appeal 1: What is meant by Human Rights?**

TIN ref: 2(YN)

#### ***What is meant by human rights?***

*We will explain it in this statement.*

*I. It means the people should have political rights. But we Tibetans do not have it at all. Just to show you one example, we don't have the right of free speech. If we shout for our own deserved rights and try to do something, then the Chinese Government consider it illegal. They not only imprison our people but also beat them very severely, and in some cases put them to death. Apart from this, they have also wounded lots of Tibetan people by beating them so that they are now just physically useless - as, for instance, in the case of Shogti [also known as Shungden, full name Sonam Wangdu, arrested March 1988, sentenced to life imprisonment, released on medical parole 1993, believed to be paralysed from the waist down].*

#### ***II. No right to life.***

*On the surface it is said that in Tibet all medical treatment is given free of charge. But in reality, when you need to go to hospital if you are a government official you have to give 100 yuan as a deposit and if you are just one of the common people you have to give 500 yuan as a deposit. Anyone who is unable to do this because of poverty will get no treatment at all.*

*Also, patients who are hospitalised, if they are in great need of better medicines, cannot afford them because of being too poor. These patients are told to buy medicines themselves and never receive any of the help which the Chinese say that they do. So finally these patients are left to die from their illness.*

*Tibetan people now have to pay rent and taxes much more than the limit. Among the official workers, there are many Tibetans with strong feeling for our own nationality but they are given a position which looks beautiful but without any real authority - take the case of Logar, for example [former mayor of Lhasa, promoted in January 1993 to a less influential position].*

*In most of the government offices and companies the old workers who have been working for quite a long period are now losing their jobs. The Chinese government invented a new name - "private management" - and said that the Tibetans are not capable of doing work and invited in many Chinese who get jobs easily. For example, at the place called "Chishutang", the Tibetans get no jobs while there are about 70 Chinese workers.*

*Moreover, these days in Lhasa on both sides of the streets lots of new buildings and houses have been built and nearly 100% of them are occupied or owned by the Chinese. Because of such a big population of Chinese in Tibet the cost of living is now increasing, such as [the price of] flour, rice, petrol and kerosene. All work such as construction is given to the Chinese and all the Tibetans are out of work.*

#### ***III. The So-called Policy of Openness and Reform.***

*The "open policy" means opening Tibet so that the Chinese are allowed to enter Tibet freely. "Reform" means that the Tibetan people's way of life has to be reformed into poverty. And in all the different provinces of China they are finding that there are too many people to be in each province [?]. For example on the way from Kongo to Lhasa, below Popul, there are already 50,000 Chinese. There are many Chinese stationed in the valley of Kongo, and on the mountain of Bi-soo the Chinese are hunting and cutting down forests and the women are breeding pigs, hens and cocks. Others are growing vegetables. Nowadays, if you have money you don't have to have any paper [permits?] to buy wood.*

*IV. The Chinese government tells people coming from other countries that they have established many schools in Tibet, but now in reality you have to pay a high monthly fee to send children to school and the main language taught in these schools is Chinese.*

*Around Lhasa the old Tibetan fields have become Chinese vegetable fields. If things go on like this for a long time, the Tibetan people will definitely have to suffer from losing their own land and from the difficulty of living. As Tibet is in such a dangerous and desperate situation, we are requesting the United Nations and all the organisations of the world who are working for Human Rights to be concerned about the welfare of Tibet and the Tibetans and to support our true struggle. We would like to thank you for the help you have given us and beg you to continue.*

*V. In short, we decided that under the leadership of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, we will struggle continually till the sun of freedom shines over Tibet, even if we have to sacrifice our life.*

*Long life to His Holiness the Dalai Lama!*

*May the wishes of His Holiness the Dalai Lama be fulfilled without any impediment!*

*Sent with heartfelt prayers on behalf of the six million Tibetans.*

**Appeal 2: The Door is Open but the Curtain is Closed**  
TIN Ref: 8(YN)

**To Heads of State:**

*For thousands of years, Tibet has been an independent country. Our country possessed its own peaceful history and spiritual character. Since their arrival, the Chinese Communists have progressively collected all power in their hands. Hard and cruel, they have killed hundreds of thousands of Tibetans. The monasteries, small or large, have been ransacked and their treasures sent to China.*

*Right now, under the pretext of renovating the Potala Palace, they are in the act of removing all of the most important pieces. Many of the guards of the rooms exhibiting the golden tombs of the successive Dalai Lamas, the statues and the reliquaries are Tibetan monks, but after gathering the monks in the exterior passages, the Chinese enter the rooms and close the doors behind them. Hidden from everyone's gaze, they abandon themselves to excavation and valuation [assessment]. Isn't this stealing?*

*At Lhoka, Rinpung, Nagchu and elsewhere, the Chinese extract gold, silver, copper, iron and other important materials that they then send to China. In Changthang, the north plain where the nomads live, the Chinese have intensively hunted wild yaks, musk deer, antelopes, wild ass and wild goats. You don't see them any more. It is the same for Tibet's birds: the eagles, the ducks, the geese, and the crows have been decimated. There are only very few fish in the rivers.*

*When Deng Xiaoping went to the south of China [in January-February 1992], he announced to the public the complete opening of Tibet for commercial ends. But when they speak between themselves, the Chinese say that [the door is open but] the curtain is closed. Thus, the Chinese arrive by the hundreds of thousands and take Tibetans' work and land. We had to plant grass instead of the barley which the Tibetans eat and of which the culture has been forbidden.*

*Even if the land belongs to you don't have the right to decide what you will grow on it. Aside from some heads of cattle that they manage to keep, the nomads must sell the majority of their herds of yaks, sheep and goats to the Chinese at prices that the Chinese impose. Tibetans don't have the right to discuss the price, which amounts to depriving the nomads of the right of free trade.*

*Tibet is a vast country and its population is small, but the Chinese impose birth control on us. We are not free to decide how many children we want to have. A Tibetan farming [peasant] couple does not have the right to have more than two children, a limit fixed by law. For the third [child] they must pay a fine of 1,000 yuan.*

*Furthermore, their surplus crops [those above the amount sold to the State according to an obligatory quota] will be confiscated from them, and they will thus lose the right to sell them on the free market.*

*A third child will not have a ration card, without which it is very difficult to live. If [a family of] semi-nomads have three or four children, they will have to pay 400 yuan. If they do not pay the fine they will have to sell their beasts of burden and their domestic animals in order to be satisfy the fine. All of these measures are applied in order to reduce the Tibetan population.*

*During the visit of the European delegation, the Chinese deprived us of the right to approach and speak to you. The Tibetans that you met were only Chinese police disguised as monks, peasants or pilgrims from Kham.*

*What we have told you is the truth: we don't have any rights. We don't want to remain under Chinese oppression: we beg you to help us to liberate Tibet more quickly.*

*We pray for peace in the world and for the long life of the Dalai Lama.*

**Appeal 3: Call for the UN to Send Fact-finding Missions**

Dated 18th May 1993. TIN ref: 17(YN).

**To all the delegates and members of the United Nations and to those people of the world who support the truth:**

*We request that you support our cause. We, the Tibetan people, have suffered for many long years and have been condemned to silence, despite our desire to speak the truth. We, the Tibetan people, are deprived of human rights. Our only right is to survive on minimal food and in basic living conditions. But this is not enough. Like all other people of the world, we, the Tibetans, need freedom, both of movement and of action, according to our wishes.*

*Today, when a Tibetan speaks for his people's rights, he is accused of acting "against the political [system]". And if we point out Chinese misconduct, we are accused of "destroying the unity of the people". So there is no way to speak freely.*

*Now a massive number of Chinese settlers are arriving in Tibet and they are taking away our jobs. There is a definite risk that Tibet will be transformed into China. The majority of responsible posts in the offices and government departments in Tibet are held by the Chinese. The Chinese get help from their fellow Chinese, and as more Chinese settle in Tibet, the Tibetans are facing increasing hardships: inflation is rising every day and Tibetans are very likely to remain deprived of any decent living conditions. In short, we are being reduced to a minority in our own country.*

*The Chinese have introduced many mechanical toys to Tibet. This has had an adverse effect on our children, who are now less motivated to study hard. Similarly, many young Tibetans are encouraged to indulge in the dance-clubs and discos. In this way, our younger generation is being covertly spoiled and cheated, being conditioned to become worthless citizens with no education or future.*

*There are Chinese all over Tibet and the Kongpo region [south-eastern part of the Tibet Autonomous Region, called Linzhi by the Chinese] is being transformed into a real Chinese colony. The Chinese already outnumber the Tibetans and the Chinese armies take away pigs and poultry from the Tibetans. In addition, the soldiers also rape Tibetan women. We cannot fully list here all the sufferings like this that the Tibetan people endure.*

*Most of the ancient Tibetan forests are being destroyed to export wood to China. Many wild animals that we saw in the past have now completely disappeared.*

*Those patriotic Tibetan men and women who struggle for the freedom of Tibet are in prison and are being beaten. Many of the prisoners suffer from ill health, which explains the extent of Chinese torture.*

*99% of Tibetan people share my views regarding these hardships, but we have no one to speak to about our problems because we are under the heavy weight of Chinese rule.*

*We once again request the United Nations to continue their fact-finding missions and to support our cause by visiting the Tibetan people in different villages and areas of Tibet.*

18 May, 1993.

#### Appeal 4. Fees, Taxes and Unemployment

TIN ref: 6(YN)

*Tibet was a country characterised by its distinctive political system, the union of spiritual and political powers. The brutal invasion and occupation of Tibet for more than 40 years by the Chinese has brought endless cruelty and repression to the whole country. Respect for human rights is totally unknown there; the terms don't even exist. Usually physical and mental freedoms are the main aspects of human existence, but inside Tibet the people have no such freedoms. On the contrary, mere talk of human rights and freedom will be labelled "counter-revolutionary speech" and will lead to surveillance, imprisonment, and torture. This is a clearly established fact.*

*Furthermore, in different offices, Chinese hold most of the responsible posts and power, and Tibetans are reduced to the status of servants. For instance, the biggest industry in Tibet is the Cement Factory, which lies to the west of Lhasa. Since the Chinese authorities encouraged the settlement of the Chinese population [in Tibet], Tibetan workers are not given jobs there. [Instead], many Chinese are being employed there, which leads to the laying off of many old and qualified Tibetan workers who are now facing difficult living conditions. In fact, when these Tibetans have claimed their right to work, their protest has been repressed by force and they have been obliged to abandon their places for the benefit of the Chinese arriving from China.*

*Traders are asked to learn and develop a strong foundation of socialist thought [before they are] given a trade licence. City businessmen are subjected to the same constraints. Various forms of licences are devised, which businessmen must have, and which are sold for 6 yuan. There is, for example, a variable tax of 64 yuan payable on demand, another of 300 yuan per month for shopkeepers as a land tax, in addition to the usual tax of 200 yuan. All these taxes are illegal. To sum up, although the Chinese criticize the feudalism [of the past], there is a real feudal system [in existence] today.*

*The same situation presents itself when one wants to enrol a Tibetan child in school. [While] socialist thought is considered the main pillar of education for school children, one must also have good financial resources. Anyone who lacks the foundation of socialism on the one hand, and money on the other hand, cannot attend school. For example, Tibetan parents must pay a 250 yuan fee. The majority of Tibetans cannot pay such a large sum. Their children will find themselves on the streets begging, or doing restaurant work.*

*In Tibet, not only are people who are not guilty jailed without justification, but they must also pay 3 yuan per day during their imprisonment. In fact, in Gutsa prison, to the east of Lhasa, where there are a number of Tibetan prisoners, when they are released each prisoner must pay for the food they consumed during their imprisonment at the rate of 3 yuan per day. If they fail to pay, they will not be released.*

*Getting into hospital is similar. If someone cannot pay an advance fee of 500 yuan, they are deprived of the chance of receiving medical care in hospital.*

*Everything that I have written is true and can be verified by any intelligent and informed person who wishes to: it will be enough to explore a bit and to rely on personal inquiries. I feel obliged to narrate all these facts.*

[name withheld]

#### Appeal 5 Land Confiscated, Endless Taxes and the Right to Get Drunk

Dated 19th May [1993], TIN ref: 13(YN)

*To the United Nations, to international human rights organisations and to eminent people who support the Tibetan cause:*

*This is to focus attention on the desperate situation of the Tibetans. The Chinese occupiers use various laws and methods in order to destroy our religion, our institutions, our culture and our customs by the following means:*

*Today, for example, Peking says that Tibet is open to the outside world and strives to create an image of political and economic openness which, according to Peking, should improve the domestic situation and enable each individual to trade freely and become wealthy. In fact, these words only apply to the Chinese because today, between 1,000 and 3,000 Chinese pour into Tibet every day. In the Kongpo area [Chinese: Linzhi], there are 25 Chinese for every Tibetan. In all of Tibet, more than a million Chinese have been brought in. All the arable land has been confiscated to construct new houses for these Chinese. Because of this influx of Chinese, the Tibetans no longer have any work. In Toelung Dachen county in the north, Meldrogungkar in the east, Dechen Zangpo, Nyemo, Gyantse and Shigatse, Tibetans have no other choice but to protest against this situation.*

*Under the pretext of the policy of "opening up", the Chinese have opened Karaoke bars, gambling-halls, cinemas and discos. Every street has snooker halls and gambling machines. As a result, children and adolescents are distracted from important issues. This is another way for the Chinese to abuse us. The Chinese are kept away from these places, and there are people posted at the entrances to discourage them from entering.*

*As for human rights, Tibetans have no political or economical rights. We have the right, however, to get drunk, gamble and live a life of debauchery. These are the types of rights the Chinese speak of when they pretend we are enjoying all of our rights. However, if under the influence of alcohol we make anti-Chinese statements, they consider us traitors and, under this pretext, arrest us.*

*Even in the context of general knowledge, if Tibetans are in possession, reading or studying a book about the history of Tibet or a book describing the situation in Tibet, the Chinese will reproach us, saying it is all propaganda and that the Tibetans are risking subjecting themselves to grave consequences. What the Chinese want is for us to study the books they have revised or written themselves, such as the "white paper" on Tibet, proving that Tibet is part of China. A Tibetan concerned with the well-being of his people and the defense of their rights is regarded as a counter-revolutionary.*

*Tibetan is only used on shop-fronts and the signs outside the offices; all the business inside is transacted in Chinese. In Tibet, if you cannot read, write and speak Chinese you are cannot get anything done.*

*Moreover, in their "White Paper" [issued by the PRC Government in September 1992], the Chinese claim that there is full respect for the rights of the Tibetan people, that Tibetans can go wherever they want, that they don't pay rent or taxes, that medical treatment and medicine are given free of charge, that school fees and canteens are government-sponsored and that interest-free loans are available. In fact, rents are twenty times higher than before the occupation. New agencies with stringent regulations have been set up to collect outstanding loan payments and an endless number of offices collect various taxes and demand payment for all kinds of licences.*

*When the Chinese claim to give free medical care it is a false claim. For example, a patient seeking admission to a*



hospital must pay 500 yuan in advance. Without this advance payment, a patient will not be admitted, even if the patient is in critical condition. If the patient is hospitalized for two weeks, the bill will be at least 1,500 yuan just for the medicine.

Regarding freedom of movement: If you want to go abroad to attend the Dalai Lama's teachings or to visit relatives, you must first complete five copies of a form, and in order to do so you must have a lot of money. The same procedure applies for travel within the country.

Concerning the government's financial help for students, until some time ago there was an 18-yuan monthly allowance for each school-age child, and they were given a set of winter and a set of summer clothes free of charge. Now, the authorities use a number of excuses to extract 100 yuan from the parents every month or two: for example, school fees, better hygiene, or teachers' salaries.

## **Arrests of Gendun Rinchen, Lobsang Yonten and Others** - The Arrests of Tibetans Preparing to Contact the Delegation

### **Letter Confirms Plan to Contact EC Diplomats**

TIN News Update / May 26, 1993

A letter has been smuggled out of Tibet which raises serious doubts about official assurances given by the Chinese authorities last week. The officials had told EC Governments that the arrest of two Tibetans in Lhasa was not related to a visit there shortly afterwards by a team of EC diplomats.

But the letter, written by Lhasa tour guide Gendun Rinchen to a friend only days before his arrest, reveals detailed plans to contact the visiting delegation and hand them a statement on human rights abuses in Tibet.

The delegation, consisting of 8 Ambassadors and 3 senior representatives from the countries of the European Community, spent last week in Tibet on a fact finding tour which was meant to focus on human rights, but which was unable to meet any Tibetans other than those arranged by officials.

The failure of the delegation to secure the release of the two prisoners is believed by some observers to have contributed to the outbreak of major unrest in Lhasa on Monday, when hundreds of protesters smashed the windows of a Lhasa police station calling for the prisoners to be released, according to reports from travellers in the city.

The Chinese Government today accused the tour guide and his nextdoor neighbour, Lobsang Yonten, a former Buddhist monk, of "stealing state secrets", a rarely cited offence for which the two men could in certain circumstances face the death penalty.

Sources in Lhasa who knew the men said today that the "state secrets" were in fact lists of Tibetans imprisoned for taking part in demonstrations.

The severity of the charges is likely to be interpreted by western Governments as a veiled affront to the European diplomats to whom the two men had planned to speak.

The EC Ambassadors had snubbed the Chinese by continuing their Tibet tour only after Dondrup, vice-Governor of the Tibet Autonomous Region, was flown back from Beijing specially to assure them last Saturday that the arrest of the two Tibetans was unrelated to their visit.

Five days before Dondrup's statement Lhasa officials had denied all knowledge of any such arrests, according to a diplomat cited in the South China Morning Post.

As for religious freedom, when the Chinese speak of "lamas", "religion" and "teachings", it is all propaganda for the tourists, because there is no freedom at all behind the facade. If you become a monk you will experience the animosity of the Chinese. Although they have opened the door [of Tibet] to Tibetan Buddhist masters living abroad, the masters must submit to the supervision of a Religious [Affairs] Bureau created to manage their pilgrimages.

The Chinese are intent on destroying everything connected to the Tibetans' identity. Therefore, we beg the United Nations, the world [non-governmental] organisations and all citizens of the world to come to our aid.

A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman today repeated in Beijing that the arrests "had nothing to do with the visit", according to Xinhua, the official Chinese News Agency.

Dondrup had refused to allow the diplomats to meet the detainees, one of whom speaks fluent English.

On several occasions in the past the Chinese have been severely embarrassed by Tibetans who passed visiting delegations written appeals complaining about human rights violations.

### **Letter: Delegations are Treated Like Prisoners**

In the letter obtained by the Tibet Information Network, an independent monitoring organisation based in London, Gendun Rinchen notes that the EC delegation is unlikely to be allowed to have any contact with ordinary Tibetans.

"All the delegations who come here are escorted like prisoners," he says in the letter, "and the security people hardly leave them alone at all. Even their rooms are checked and then watched. The Chinese try to check every move they make."

"If the Chinese treat them in such a way, then they can imagine how they treat us," he adds. The letter was written on 16th April, exactly one month before the diplomats arrived.

"Dear X.", it begins, "We are trying to produce some material for the EC delegation".

"This delegation will have an impact on the PRC, that is definite," wrote Rinchen, after deciding that it would be safer to hand over a letter rather than try to speak to the diplomats. "If it is possible they should be briefed that in order to find out facts in Tibet .. they will have to make a real effort to get in contact with ordinary people and to talk [to them]."

The letter describes some of the issues which he wanted to inform the diplomats about:

*"The recent arrests in Lhasa have led to torture in the police department [Gong An Ting]. I heard that a few of the demonstrators who were detained there have been treated so badly that when the police transferred them to the detention centre at Gutsa the prison guards refused to take them."*



It even includes notes on unexpected improvements in prison conditions: "This month not a single case has been reported of major illness amongst the political prisoners."

The letter ends on a note of uncertainty. "We welcome them to our country. But if they are not in a position to tell the truth, then they had better not come. That would help no-one in Tibet." The two men were taken from their homes near the Ramoche Temple in Lhasa at around midnight on 13th May, just over 48 hours before the delegation reached Tibet.

#### US Factors Decide

Gendun Rinchen seems to have decided to take the risk of trying to contact the Europeans partly because he had seen the way an earlier US delegation to Lhasa was treated.

"We knew about their visit to the Jokhang Temple", he writes of the US Senators' mission to Lhasa in December 1992, "and I paid a visit there at the same time. The temple was already filled with policemen in plain-clothes, wearing Tibetan dress. We saw one in a Tibetan chuba, with a camera, posing as a pilgrim.

*"The Barkor was also full of security men. During their walk around the Barkor they were guarded by security and could not get close to the stalls. The officials from the Foreign Department told the Jokhang monks that they should not [meet] them, because these US people were very bad and dangerous. Anyway, their visit was not worth anything, except that they might have experienced what it is like, living like a criminal."*

Tibetans in Lhasa were looking forward to seeing what stand the new US administration would take on the question of human rights in Tibet, according to Rinchen.

*"We are definite that Mr. Clinton's administration will be more effective and sincere in Tibetan affairs. We prayed for his victory by offering incense every day and chang [Tibetan beer] and wine to the deities. We made our contribution and are satisfied with the result."*

*"Let's hope that the elected president will keep up the election manifesto promises, especially on human rights issues," the tour guide wrote.*

Gendun Rinchen is 46 and comes from a family of semi-nomads in Markham, in Khma, Eastern Tibet. After the Chinese invasion of 1949-50 they moved to Lhasa and then, at the age of ten, fled to Kalimpong, Northern India. He studied at the Central Tibetan School in Mussorie. After training under the sponsorship of the Indo-German Academic Exchange Programme he worked as a mechanical engineer in India for ten years until 1987, when his mother asked him to return with her to Tibet. From then on he worked as a travel guide, first for Lhasa Travel Service and then for China International Travel Service.

Lobsang Yonten, also referred to as Tsasur Choenzed, is about 64 years old and comes from a family of petty advocates in Lhokha, Southern Tibet. He was a monk at Loseling College of Drepung monastery until 1959. He was arrested in 1960 after the Tibetan Uprising against Chinese rule and held in various prisons and labour camps until 1986. At the time of his arrest he had been surviving by giving private classes in Tibetan to up to 40 students, according to information provided by the Tibetan Government in Exile. Both men lived in the Ramoche area of Lhasa.

Note: Photograph of Gendun Rinchen available from TIN in London.

#### 'Stealing Secrets': note on charges made against Gendun Rinchen and Lobsang Yonten

TIN News Update / May 27 1993 total no of pages: 2

Two Tibetans, arrested on or shortly before 13th May, have been accused by the Chinese Foreign Ministry of stealing

state secrets, according to a report by Xinhua, the official Chinese news agency, on 26th May.

Sources in Lhasa said that the "state secrets" collected by the two men, tour guide Gendun Rinchen and former monk Lobsang Yonten, were lists of Tibetans who had been imprisoned for taking part in pro-independence demonstrations. Rinchen and Yonten were planning to hand these lists over to a visiting delegation of European diplomats when they were arrested.

The charge of "stealing a state secret" appears to be one of the most severe charges that can be levied under Chinese law.

It means that the prisoners will probably be prosecuted under Article 97 of the *Chinese Criminal Code* or under more recent state security laws. In either case the minimum sentence for such an offence is ten years imprisonment.

If article 103 of the *Criminal Code* or of the Special 1983 Regulations on *Offences which Seriously Endanger Public Security* is invoked, as is usual in such cases, then the death sentence can be imposed.

Under this charge a prisoner can be sentenced to death when the harm to the state and the people is "especially serious".

Stealing state secrets is believed to be a more serious charge than espionage or passing secrets to a foreigner.

In the only previous case of "stealing secrets" that is known to either Amnesty or Asiawatch, a 45 year old Beijing journalist, Guan Jian, received a 20 year sentence last month for stealing state secrets and disclosing them to an outsider, according to *Xinhua* on 29th April 1993. Reports were also carried by UPI and Reuters on the same day.

Guan, a former journalist at a Beijing newspaper, had stolen top secret government documents in 1986, according to *Xinhua*. He received a 15 year sentence for this. He also received a ten year sentence for spying, or passing the information on to a "foreign spy" from Taiwan. Five years of the sentence for spying was to run concurrently with the sentence for stealing the secrets, giving the total of 20 years.

There are a number of recent cases of Chinese and Tibetans who have been accused of leaking or passing on state secrets, which appears to be a lesser offence. Sentences vary widely for this offence, presumably because it is not always done with a counter-revolutionary or splittist motive.

Bao Tong, former adviser to Zhao Ziyang received 9 years, reduced to seven years, for this offence; he had indicated to the students in Tiananmen Square that martial law was going to be introduced. Others have received four year sentences for similar crimes.

A *Xinhua* journalist, Wu Shishen, was sentenced to 15 years in late 1992 for selling to a Hong Kong reporter an advance copy of a speech due to be given in public by a Jiang Zemin; another accomplice, believed to have been his wife, is said to have received a 13 year sentence.

The famous prisoner of conscience, Wei Jingsheng, received a 15 year sentence for leaking a state secret to a foreigner in 1979.

The exceptional seriousness of the case of Gendun Rinchen and Lobsang Yonten is indicated by the fact that they are accused of stealing "a large number" of secrets, and because the motives were implicitly splittist or counter-revolutionary.

Most of the known cases involving passing on state secrets involved only one or two documents. The most relevant

precedent is the case of Doctor Nyerongshar Jampa Ngodrup, who received 13 years in 1989 for passing on just two lists of prisoners' names to a Tibetan from India. He was accused of leaking the secrets not stealing them, and only two items were involved.

Note that the Foreign Ministry Statement already presumes the men to be guilty; any trial will therefore be a formality. The formal charges which will presumably be brought by the Procuracy at some stage after the investigation is completed could be different from those mentioned in the Foreign Ministry statement.

A Mongolian human rights activist, Ulaan Shovo, was accused of passing a secret document to the British journalist Andrew Higgins in 1991 was tried for the offence, but the trial was held in secret, as is usual with secrets cases, and we do not know what sentence he received, or whether the charges were dropped. Early unconfirmed reports said that he received a sentence of either 5, 7 or 8 years. However, these seem to have been wrong, because in late 1992 he was released, but he was re-arrested a few weeks later in January 1993. SO we are not sure if this constitutes a release. His present situation is unknown.

A former cadre in the Foreign ministry, Bai Weiji, 5 May was reportedly charged with leaking state secrets in 1992 after the office of the *Washington Post* journalist Lena Sun was raided on 17th May 1992, and 10 secret government documents were recovered from her office. As far as we know, Bai has not yet been tried.

The acquittal rate in China is extremely low. Once a prisoner has been charged their chance of being found not guilty in their trial is less than 2%. - end -

#### **Film Star Speaks Out as Tibetan Arrest Details Emerge**

TIN News Update / 17 June, 1993 extracts

The film actor Harrison Ford and his wife Melissa issued a strong statement of concern today about the welfare of the Tibetan human rights activist, Gendun Rinchen, a tour guide who was arrested by the Chinese authorities in Lhasa last month.

The Fords, who met Rinchen while in a tour group led by him in Tibet a year ago, publicised their concern for the first time in an interview broadcast on the BBC World Service this morning.

The couple described their recollections of the tour guide, who has been accused by the Chinese authorities of stealing state secrets, a rare charge which could lead to the death sentence. "He was a fine man," the couple told TIN, "Even the reason he was arrested illustrates a fine man."

"His crime was simply to be in possession of the list of political prisoners and then to have an ambition to present that to the EC commission," Mr. Ford told the BBC, referring to a letter the tour guide had planned to deliver to European diplomats who began a week-long fact-finding mission to Lhasa on May 16th.

"This information would not be disseminated in any other way, and Rinchen apparently felt that the EC commission could come and go from Lhasa without recognising the signs of repression which were there," said Mr. Ford. "He was afraid they would leave without having a sense of what was really going on".

The tour guide had talked to them about human rights but had not discussed political matters, said the couple.

"He was concerned about simply the human rights we'd all be concerned about - that the Tibetan people themselves had no right to assemble, had no right to publish, had no right to travel, were basically kept away from foreign visitors as much as possible. Those kind of things concerned him", said Melissa Ford.

The Chinese authorities have accused Gendun Rinchen of "engaging in separatist activities", a Chinese term for supporters of the Tibetan independence movement. Rinchen, voted the top tourist guide in Tibet by visitors last year, was born in Markham, Eastern Tibet, but had lived in exile in India from the age of ten until he returned to Lhasa with his parents in 1987.

The couple described the atmosphere in Tibet last April as oppressive. "There was a thick feeling of fear", said Mrs Ford, who is writing a film script based on the life of the Dalai Lama.

Mrs Ford, writer of the screenplay for the film *ET*, described a Tibetan woman who sang them a song about the Dalai Lama, the exiled Tibetan leader. "While she was singing, even though we were in a room, amongst friends, with closed doors, she kept looking over one shoulder and then another as she sang," said Mrs. Ford. "To be caught singing this song could have been obviously quite dangerous for her. And that's the level the fear exists on."

#### **European Parliament Calls for Release of Tibetan Prisoners**

TIN News Update / 21 September, 1993 extract

The European Parliament has called on Beijing to release a well known Tibetan human rights activist from prison, and has said that EC relations with China should be linked to human rights.

The Parliament said on Friday that China should not be awarded the Olympic Games for the year 2000 until it shows significant progress in human rights conditions.

The European Parliament based its argument against the Beijing Olympic bid on the case of the imprisoned Tibetan tourist guide, Gendun Rinchen, still in incommunicado detention in Tibet since trying to hand a list of prisoners to a visiting EEC delegation five months ago.

The Parliament passed a resolution last Thursday 16th September saying that Gendun Rinchen and other political prisoners should be released and that China should not be awarded the Games.

The Parliament "supports the courageous activity of Gendun Rinchen and his combatants in support of the respect of human rights and in particular the situation of the political prisoners in Tibet", said the resolution. "The Olympic Games should not be held in Peking in the year 2000, unless significant progress is made in ensuring respect for human rights by the Chinese regime," it said.

It also expressed "grave concern" about reports of the case of a 26 year old Tibetan businesswoman, Damchoe Pemo, who was 20 weeks pregnant when she was arrested in May for supporting the independence movement. She miscarried after police forced her to remain standing for at least 12 hours and beat her with electric batons.

The resolution, which was passed without any call for a vote, also called on the European Commission to make all future economic and commercial agreements with China dependent on respect for human rights in China and Tibet.

## Text of the European Parliament Resolution

*Joint motion (B3-1257/RC1) for a resolution on the detention of the Tibetans, Gendun Rinchen, Lobsang Yontan [sic] and Damchoe Pemo, and other violations of human rights in Tibet.*

*The European Parliament,*

- *having regard to the statement of concern issued by the EPC (Political Committee) on 1st June;*

- *recalling its earlier resolutions and in particular that of 24th June 1993;*

- *having regard to the statement of concern of Amnesty International;*

*A. Aware of the deplorable violation of human rights in Tibet and the huge number of political prisoners, including 107 apparently arrested during the period April to July 1993 for taking part in demonstrations for independence or calling for the release of dissidents;*

*B. Recalling the arrest of Gendun Rinchen and other Tibetan human rights activists before the arrival of a delegation of EC Ambassadors in Tibet last May, in an apparent attempt by the Chinese authorities to prevent contacts with the EC Delegation and in particular to prevent them receiving information about political prisoners;*

*C. Concerned about the fact that Gendun Rinchen since being arrested is being detained incommunicado and is accused of "stealing state secrets", a charge which can carry the death sentence;*

*D. Gravely concerned by the reports of the arrest and maltreatment by the police of Damchoe Pemo who, when 20 weeks pregnant, miscarried, having been forced to remain standing for at least 12 hours and having been beaten with electric batons;*

*E. Gravely concerned by the reports that the village of Kymishi in Gongkar County in the Lhoka Prefecture has been surrounded by hundreds of Chinese soldiers who have set up machine gun posts and that 35 people in the village have been arrested;*

*F. Convinced that the relations between EC and China should not be determined only by economic interests, but should be dependant on respect for human rights and democracy;*

*1. Calls on the Chinese authorities to release forthwith all those detained solely for exercising their right to freedom of expression and to ensure that Tibetan detainees are protected from torture and ill treatment and are granted access to relatives and to a lawyer of their choice;*

*2. Supports the courageous activity of Gendun Rinchen and his combatants in support of the respect of human rights and in particular the situation of the political prisoners in Tibet;*

*3. Recalls its demand to the Commission to make all future economic and commercial agreements with the People's Republic of China dependant upon respect for human rights in China and in the Tibetan region;*

*4. Takes the view that the Olympic Games should not be held in Peking in the year 2000, unless significant progress is made in ensuring respect for human rights by the Chinese regime;*

*5. Instructs its delegation to China to insist on discussing the question of the violation of human rights, especially in Tibet, during its forthcoming visit to the People's Republic;*

*6. Instructs its President to transmit this resolution to the Commission, the council, the EPC, and to the Governments of the People's Republic of China and of the Tibet Autonomous Region.*

The European Parliament adopted the resolution without a vote on 16th September 1993.

## Profile of Gendun Rinchen, a Tibetan Human Rights Monitor

TIN Background Briefing Paper, July 1993

Name of Prisoner: Gendun Rinchen

Tibetan spelling: dge-'dun rin-chen

Born: 1947, Markham, Kham

Residence: Tsasur House, Ramoche area, Lhasa

Profession: tour guide

Education: diploma in electrical engineering, India

Detained: night of 13/14th May 1993, Lhasa

Accused: stealing state secrets, separatist activities

Current whereabouts: believed to be in Seitru Prison, Lhasa

In May 1993, shortly before the arrival in Lhasa of an important diplomatic delegation, police arrested a number of Tibetan human rights activists. Among these was a tour guide, 46-year old Gendun Rinchen, who had for some time been monitoring human rights and speaking to tourists about human rights conditions in Tibet.

Police are reported to have found a letter by Rinchen describing human rights conditions in Tibet and giving a list of political prisoners in Tibet. The letter was addressed to the foreign delegation. Rinchen has now been accused by the Chinese Government of stealing state secrets, a charge which can carry the death sentence.

## Background

Gendun Rinchen was born in 1947 in the county town of Markham, in the former Eastern Tibetan province of Kham, less than three years before the country was taken over by the army of Mao Tsetung.

At the age of ten Rinchen's father, Sonam Phuntsok, fled with his family across the Himalayas to India, where they lived as refugees for the next thirty years. Rinchen was educated in the Central School for Tibetans at Mussorie, one of the establishments set up by the Tibetan Government in exile after it fled to Northern India in 1959.

Although his schoolmates say he was a hard-working student, especially at sciences, he got only a third division pass in his final exams in April 1972, and failed to gain entrance to University. But after working for a short time with the Tibetan Government, he received a scholarship from the Indo-German Academic Exchange, which allowed him to study electrical engineering at the Faridabad Institute of Engineering in Northern India. He completed the 4-year course with a first division pass in August 1977 and then took up work as an engineer with an Indian firm called Escorts in Faridabad.

In February 1986 he resigned from the factory in order to return to Tibet with his parents, because his mother wanted to spend her last years in her homeland. In November 1986, leaving his younger brother to pursue a career in the relative safety of India, Rinchen travelled back with his mother and father to Lhasa. There he looked after his ageing parents while pursuing a new career as a tour guide. Within two or three years he became the senior tour guide in the city, working first for Lhasa Travel Service and then for China International Travel Service. He was regarded as jovial, sincere, and helpful by foreign travellers. In 1992 he was voted the Top Guide of the Year.

His mother died from liver cancer after a long and difficult illness on 25 March 1991.



## Arrest

During early May 1993 police in Lhasa began a series of arrests of suspected activists and dissidents. On 11th May police arrested Lobsang Yonten, a former Buddhist monk, aged between 60 and 64, who lived in Tsasur house, a former mansion, now dilapidated, near the Ramoche Temple in Lhasa, where Rinchen also lived.

Rinchen must have known that it was likely that he would be arrested soon. He told a friend in Lhasa on the afternoon of 12th May that there had been at least ten to fifteen arrests that week. The friend urged Rinchen to try to escape to Nepal immediately, but the tour guide refused.

"I urged him not to wait too long and to accept that the signal was already there, but this he seemed reluctant to accept", his friend says. "He was in fear of arrest while hastily completing the submissions to the EC delegation."

On the night of 13th/14th May, at around midnight, police came to Rinchen's room in Tsasur House. The police are believed to have been officials not from the Public Security Bureau but from the Anquan Bu, the State Security Ministry.

It is understood from unofficial sources in Lhasa that Rinchen and Lobsang Yonten are being kept at the prison of Seitru, where detainees are usually held incommunicado, without access to visitors. Seitru, a term coming from the Chinese phrase meaning "Section No 4", is part of the Sangyip prison complex in the northeastern suburb of Lhasa. In 1990 Sonam Drolkar, a former Buddhist nun, detained in Seitru after she was caught preparing to contact a British TV journalist, was tortured by being given electric shocks leading to convulsions every second day for six months. She survived the torture only because prison doctors intervened.

## Stealing State Secrets

In response to growing international pressure, the Chinese Foreign Ministry announced on 25th May that Gendun Rinchen and Lobsang Yonten had been detained because they had been "stealing a large number of state secrets". They "had been engaged for a long time in separatist activities", said the Ministry, in a statement which appeared to denounce the men as guilty although they have not yet been charged or tried.

There are previous cases of Tibetans being accused of handing over state secrets, but none in Tibet of a person being accused of stealing secrets. In 1991 a Tibetan doctor received a 13 year sentence for handing "state secrets" to another Tibetan. The "secrets" were the names of people wounded or arrested in a demonstration.

In the only known case of stealing secrets, a Chinese official was sentenced in April 1993 to 15 years. Regarding this offence, which is categorised as an act of "counter-revolution", the Chinese Criminal Code says that in cases "when the harm to the state and the people is especially serious and the circumstances especially odious" the sentence can be death.

Similar penalties would apply if they were charged under the State Security Law of the PRC adopted by the 30th Session of the 7th NPC Standing Committee on 22nd February 1993. This re-affirmed the Supplementary Provisions of the Standing Committee of the NPC relating to Punishment for the Offence of Disclosing State Secrets, passed on September 5th 1988. These provisions were supplementary to the 1988 Law on Guarding State Secrets. "If the circumstances are especially serious they shall be sentenced to not less than ten years of fixed-term imprisonment, life imprisonment or the death penalty", states the Supplementary Provisions, referring to those "who steal, secretly gather, purchase or illegally provide state secrets for organisation or personnel outside the country."

## Reasons for Arrest

The series of arrests in May took place shortly before the arrival on 16th May of one of the highest level foreign delegations that had visited Lhasa. The delegation consisted of Ambassadors and senior envoys from 11 of the 12 European Community countries, due to spend a week in Tibet on a fact finding mission with a special interest in human rights conditions in Tibet. The arrests were apparently designed to deter Tibetans from trying to contact the delegation.

The arrests are said to have included Tseten Dorje, a member of the Religious Affairs Bureau, arrested on 8th May. On or around 20th May a woman named Damchoe Pemo, also from the Ramoche area was arrested, apparently in connection with the visit of the EC delegation, and is also believed to be in Seitru prison.

Among the papers that police found when they raided Rinchen's room, according to sources in Lhasa, was a detailed letter describing the human rights situation in Tibet. It was addressed to the European Community delegation, and is believed to have included a list of the names of recently arrested Tibetan political prisoners.

Rinchen appears to have been influenced by his observations of what had happened to earlier western delegations who had visited Lhasa. "All the delegations who come here are escorted like prisoners," he wrote in a letter to a friend, "and the security people hardly leave them alone at all. Even their rooms are checked and then watched. The Chinese try to check every move they make."

He had witnessed the preparations made for the visit of a group of US Senators to the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa in December 1992, and had written about it to a friend.

*"I paid a visit there at the same time. The temple was already filled with policemen in plain-clothes, wearing Tibetan dress... During their walk around the Barkor they were guarded by security and could not get close to the stalls. The officials from the Foreign Department told the Jokhang monks that they should not [meet] these US people. ... Their visit was not worth anything."*

In another letter, written to a friend in early 1993, he described his decision to contact the European diplomats.

*"I understand that the EC delegation is visiting the capital of the Roof of the World in May 1993. I am trying to make an appeal letter to them. [...] I never did it before but now I feel maybe no other Tibetan will do it."*

## Human Rights Monitoring

Because he had frequent access to foreign tourists and because he could speak English, State Security officials appear to have been watching Rinchen for some time. He had been collecting details of human rights violations in Tibet over a period of time. People who have seen his reports, usually describing arrests of demonstrators or reports of torture victims, say he was precise and detailed, attempting to give as accurate an account as possible.

Rinchen was what is known in the parlance of the United Nations as a human rights monitor. He even reported improvements in conditions: "Note: these nuns received no beatings during interrogation. The interrogations were carried out in the garden, just sitting face to face. This is my first account of political prisoners not beaten under interrogation," he said of one case.

He had also spoken occasionally to some of the tourists in his groups about the situation. "When we visited the Jokhang, the Barkor, the famous centre of Lhasa, he



recounted the demonstrations that had taken place," said the actor Harrison Ford, who had travelled with Rinchen and knew him well. "He did not speak of the political ambitions of those demonstrators. He spoke only of the harsh treatment that they received at the hands of the Chinese authorities," said Mr Ford.

Melissa Ford, a well-known scriptwriter, has given more detail about the kind of conversations which may have led to Rinchen's arrest:

*"He was concerned about simply the human rights we'd all be concerned about - that the Tibetan people themselves had no right to assemble, had no right to publish, had no right to travel, were basically kept away from foreign visitors as much as possible. Those kind of things concerned him".*

One of the Tibetans who worked with Rinchen in the tourist business in Lhasa says he did not speak about politics, wanting primarily to communicate information.

*"I have no idea what his feeling was about the Chinese, because all the time he was talking about human rights; he wanted to tell foreign people what were the true things which were happening in Tibet about human rights. Rinchen was interested in human rights rather than politics", his colleague said.*

#### Views on Non-Violence

He seems to have been opposed to the use of violence, and some of the Tibetans who knew him in Lhasa before his arrests said that he often spoke against those Tibetans who were inclined to violence.

*"When people became despairing," says one Tibetan, "especially after the UN resolution was blocked in March 1992, when people were discussing going to look for weapons, he often calmed people down, saying that His Holiness is still against violence and that we still have resources. We talked of using violence but he discouraged us often. 'The Patron is totally against such moves', he would say."*

In one of his private letters he added, as an aside, a comment on Chinese allegations that Tibetans were seeking arms: "We are not in need of such drastic steps," he wrote. "We believe in truth, not weapons."

#### Risks

Rinchen was aware of the risks he was taking, especially since his work, with his close involvement with foreigners, placed him under greater suspicion. In 1987, for example, a leading Tibetan philosopher, Yulu Dawa Tsering, was sentenced to 10 years for discussing politics with a visiting Italian tourist. Like many Tibetans, he was deeply religious and felt that he was under the spiritual protection of the exile Tibetan leader the Dalai Lama. "Your letter looks like you are worried for my safety," Rinchen wrote on one occasion to a friend. "I am safe, at present, and there is no need to worry. Regarding my safety I have full confidence in His Holiness", he wrote.

Amnesty International has called for his unconditional release and on 1st June the European Community issued a demarche expressing "deep concern" about the arrests of Gendun Rinchen and Lobsang Yonten, noting that it had called for them to be released at once. "The Community and its member states will continue to seek full information from the Chinese authorities in Peking," said the statement.

## **Part 5: Policy, Economics, Tourism, Refugees**

### **New Military Headquarters in Tibet Construction Boom**

TIN News Update / 3 December, 1992

Part of the military headquarters for south-western China is to be shifted to Tibet, according to unofficial reports from Lhasa.

A major construction project, now nearing completion by Dongkar Bridge about 10 kilometres southwest of Lhasa, is to become the new headquarters for the Tibet military district, at present based near Chengdu, 1300 km to the east.

The size of the new headquarters, which stretches for over a kilometre, suggests that part of China's south-western command headquarters - the Chengdu Military Region - may also be moving its operations to Lhasa.

The new site, situated on the main road running towards Tibet's main airport at Gongkar, consists of nearly 40 three-storey buildings. Each building contains about 40 rooms, suggesting that the site will house between 5,000 and 15,000 operatives when completed.

The new site will be devoted not to barracks and weaponry facilities, several of which are already stationed around Lhasa, but to the command and administration structure, according to the reports from Tibet.

Deployment of combat troops in the Tibet Autonomous Region is believed to have dropped in recent years to between 40 and 50,000 men, as a result of China's development of a rapid response system which can move soldiers into the area from inland provinces with considerable speed.

In March 1989 the 149th Airborne Division was able to move from its base in Sichuan to Lhasa in 36 hours, according to Chinese military sources. The exercise was part of a larger operation, described later by the Hong Kong journal *Liaowang* (24th July, 1989) as a first in China's military history, involving the transfer of over 14,000 troops to Tibet in more than 100 flights, using civil as well as military aircraft.

The postponement in 1987 of China's plan to extend a rail service to Lhasa has led to the development of air traffic facilities in the region, well beyond the capabilities of the tourist trade.

Since July 1990 work has been under way at an initial cost of 268 million yuan to expand Gongkar airport, used for both civilian and military traffic, so that it now includes a new passenger building covering 10,000 square metres and a 4,000 metre long runway.

### **Military Linked to Anti-Splittist Struggle**

Analysts are divided over whether the military shift onto the Tibetan plateau indicates that the Chinese are growing more or less concerned about the long-term security of their border with India, despite improvements on the diplomatic front, or whether the move is connected to internal security in the Tibetan region.

After the collapse of the Soviet coup in 1991 Tibetan officials called for increased military preparedness in the region, and linked political unrest in Tibet to military threats from abroad.

"With the small number of separatists at home and abroad swollen with arrogance, at no time can national defence

awareness be weakened," said Gyaltsen Norbu, the Chairman of the Tibet Government, according to the *Tibet Daily* of 22nd September 1991. "If we want stability, we must strengthen national defence," he added.

The newspaper, the official organ of the Party in Tibet, had noted that more than 500,000 yuan in local funds was being spent on improving 150 border sentry posts.

The military headquarters is situated less than a kilometre away from a new prison which opened in February this year, when 40 prisoners were transferred from unit 2 of Lhasa's Sangyip prison.

The new prison, known locally as Trisam prison, is a Labour Re-Education Camp, holding people for up to four and a half years without trial. It is believed to be the sixth prison in Lhasa and now houses at least 27 Tibetan women and 16 men who are political prisoners.

### **Construction Boom for Chinese Migrants in Tibet**

The military construction outside Lhasa is part of a wave of civilian and military building going on throughout central Tibet, apparently designed to cater for thousands of Chinese migrants seeking new opportunities in the region, which since May has been preparing to open a special economic zone around Lhasa.

In May this year Government work units with property on main streets in towns throughout Tibet were instructed to construct hundreds of new shops, and residence permits are said to be exchanging hands for over 5,000 yuan a time.

Major new residential construction projects have been reported in all towns in Tibet and even in remote rural areas, notably near Tradun (Zhongba), 700 kilometres west of Lhasa, an area which has not seen Chinese settlers before.

Land is reportedly being brought up from Tibetan farmers in Emagang county near Tibet's second city, Shigatse, according to reports which say that the area, known for its fertility, is being prepared for settlement by several thousand Chinese migrants.

A source in Beijing, who asked not to be identified, said last week that Chinese officials had replaced local Tibetan administrators in Emagang and some other rural areas earlier this year in order to facilitate the new developments, which are likely to encounter strong local opposition.

In September Lhasa's new mayor, Lobsang Dundrup, ordered the clearing of a camp site inhabited by some 2,000 Tibetan nomads and pilgrims who were living temporarily in Lhasa. Some of the Tibetans were paid 100 yuan to return to their homes in the countryside, while others were deported by force, according to unofficial reports, which claimed that the site was required for building developments intended to house new migrants from China.

### **Chinese Appointed Party Boss in Tibet**

TIN News Update / 5 December, 1992

A little known Chinese cadre has been appointed as Party chief in Tibet, raising doubts about Beijing's pledge to increase autonomy in Tibet.

Chen Kuiyuan, who has been a Deputy Party Secretary in the Tibet Autonomous Region for the last nine months, was named as First Party Secretary of the Region by the Central

Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, according to an announcement by *Xinhua* on December 1st.

Chen replaces Hu Jintao, who had held the top position in Tibet since December 1st 1988 but had been absent from Tibet since October 1990, reportedly because of illness. Six weeks ago Hu was promoted to the standing committee of the Politburo, the highest organ in the Chinese system.

Chen had discretely taken over the running of Tibet in early March 1992 [see *TIN Update* 17th September 1992]. Since then he has overseen the introduction of the fast-paced economic reforms initiated by Deng Xiaoping in January/February this year, which led Tibet to announce in May that it would open a special economic zone in Lhasa.

Chen's time in Lhasa so far has been associated with applying reform policies in Tibet in a way that has led to a greatly increased inflow of Chinese migrant labourers and entrepreneurs into Tibet. Thousands are believed to have moved into the region, and construction is booming in rural as well as urban areas of Tibet.

Chen has given several speeches on the need to speed up economic reform in Tibet but has also emphasised "stability", the Chinese term for repression of dissent. On 11th June 1992 Chen called on the Party to be "tough with two hands" in the fight against "sinful attempts ... to split the motherland".

Chen was first introduced to top Chinese cadres in Lhasa as the new leader in Tibet at a closed meeting on 3rd March, according to unofficial sources in the Tibetan capital, who said that the meeting had been timed to take place while Tibetan cadres were absent during preparations for the Tibetan New Year.

The official announcement of Chen's appointment said that the new Party Secretary is 52, born in 1940 in Kanping county in Liaoning Province. Chen's published experience is in the fields of propaganda and political education. In 1964 Chen graduated from the Department of Political Education in the Normal College of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, according to *Xinhua*, the official Chinese News Agency.

He worked as a teacher at a Party School in the region and became a party official at local level before being appointed a member of the Inner Mongolian Party Committee in 1989, and later a vice-Governor of the Regional Government. He is reported to have been in charge of higher education in the region for the short period before he was transferred to Tibet.

It is unclear who are Chen's political patrons, or why he has been given such rapid promotion since 1989.

#### **Doubts over Autonomy**

The failure of the authorities to accept a Tibetan candidate to lead the region suggests that the Party has still not found Tibetans whom it is prepared to trust with high office. The appointment weakens Chinese claims that Tibetans enjoy effective "regional autonomy".

Unlike Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang, Tibet has never been ruled by a member of the local nationality. All the heads of the Party in Tibet have been Chinese, except for Wu Jinghua, Tibet Party Secretary from 1985 to 1988, who was a member of the Yi nationality.

Both the US and Britain have called on the Chinese to increase the visible display of Tibetan autonomy, and British recognition of China's legal claim to Tibet is conditional on continuing Tibetan autonomy, according to statements made in the UN in 1961.

In July 1990 a British Foreign Office Minister, Tim Sainsbury, said that Britain "would like the Tibetans to play a greater role in Tibet" and last month the US said it was encouraging China to allow "effective Tibetan participation in their own internal affairs".

In the last year several Chinese have been appointed to leading positions in the Government in Tibet, even though it is less influential than the Party. The new Governor of Lhokha, the prefecture covering southern Tibet, is Chinese, and in April the *People's Daily* announced that at least 111 Chinese cadres, some aged as young as 22 years old, had taken up posts in Tibet, mainly as leaders at county level in remote areas (*Renmin Ribao (People's Daily)*, 13th April 1992).

The appointments have been connected by some sources to preparations for the arrival of large numbers of Chinese migrants. On July 27 in an "important speech" Chen Kuiyuan called for inland Chinese to come to help open up Tibet. "We should open our job market [in Tibet] to all fellow countrymen", said Chen, particularly "those who know how to develop village and town enterprises and a commodity economy".

#### **Crack-down in Lhasa: Vice Governor Moved** *TIN News Update / June 9, 1993 / extract*

Mao Rubai, one of the leading Chinese cadres in Tibet, is being recalled to the Chinese capital to take up a new post, according to an article in the South China Morning Post on Monday 7th June. Observers in Hong Kong and Beijing regard the move as an effective demotion, but sources in Lhasa say that Mao wanted to move back to Beijing.

Mao, highest ranking vice-Governor of Tibet and a Deputy Party Secretary of the region, has been appointed a vice-Minister of Construction in the State Council. Mao, a former meteorologist, has worked in Tibet for 30 years and is in charge of development and foreign trade.

#### **Lhasa: Beggars and Monks Cleared to "Beautify" City** *TIN News Update / 15 August, 1993/*

The Chinese authorities in Tibet last week evicted itinerant monks and the poor from the streets in the centre of Lhasa, and put up signs banning the unemployed from staying in the area, according to reports from unofficial sources in the Tibetan capital.

The move appears to be part of a drive to "beautify" the Tibetan quarter of Lhasa, now being fast turned into a modern commercial centre, and to impress important foreign visitors.

A banner hung across the Barkor last week read "In the Barkor beggars and unemployed persons are not allowed to stay".

Itinerant monks and "nagpas" or tantric adepts, who usually sit in the Barkor, the alleyway that runs round the Jokhang, Lhasa's main Temple, in order to recite prayers and perform religious ceremonies, were also cleared from the streets during last week's ban, according to the reports.

It is not known if the evictions were permanent or temporary, but they suggest that the Chinese Government is now putting official muscle behind the increasing commercialisation of the old City.

Red banners were strung across the street last week explaining the evictions as part of a drive to "beautify" the Barkor, the last remaining part of the Tibetan capital which still has traditional Tibetan buildings in it.

One banner said "We will make the Barkor even more beautiful and this is the work of everybody".



The official beautification plan appears to be linked to the on-going drive by the authorities to demolish traditional Tibetan buildings in the Barkor, replacing them with modern Chinese-style buildings with mock-Tibetan facades. In July Chinese construction workers were reported as working until 11 at night to complete new buildings along the Barkor in record time.

Most evicted residents have not been offered alternative housing or consulted about whether they wanted the houses destroyed, according to some reports. Rents in the new buildings are said to be 7 or 8 times higher than in the traditional buildings, although facilities are little improved, according to one source.

#### Department Store to Replace Houses

Another red banner strung across the Barkor last week mimicked Tibetan religious beliefs, which regard circumambulating the Temple and giving alms to beggars and monks on the Barkor as meritorious acts. "Doing a good deed on the Barkor, we will increase its wealth", said the banner, apparently suggesting that increasing commercial activity is also a religious virtue.

Earlier this year the authorities, who say they are under pressure to provide more residential accommodation, knocked down at least one perfectly sound Tibetan residential compound in the Barkor, apparently to make way for a department store.

A western building expert who inspected the buildings unofficially a few days before they were flattened in April says there was no sign of any structural damage to the building, which was only 70 years old. The building, on the south east corner of the Barkor, belonged to the Surkhang family - their name means "corner-house" - which included the last Prime Minister of Tibet before it lost its independence.

#### 46 out of 50 Shops Chinese-owned

Many Tibetans say that the new buildings are changing the fundamental character of the historic Tibetan quarter, turning it into a modern commercial area. They also say that it is linked to the influx of outside entrepreneurs - mainly Chinese or Chinese Muslim - who are taking over shops and street stalls in the area.

Most Tibetans lack the capital or the social connections to take over the new shops or get business licences, and many believe that there is deliberate support by the authorities for the increasing domination of the Tibetan economy by Chinese migrants.

In a survey carried out for TIN in July on the southern Lingkor, a street parallel to the Barkor, it was found that in one stretch of 50 shops west of the sports stadium 46 were owned or operated by Chinese traders. Two of the fifty shops were owned by the Government and two were owned by Tibetans.

In the same month a similar survey in Shigatse, Tibet's second city, counted a stretch of 88 shops beside the main hotel, of which 76 were Chinese. Nine of the 88 shops were owned by the Government, and three were Tibetan.

Chinese people "now dominate new economic activity in Tibet", said a senior western diplomat who visited Lhasa in the last three months, adding as an example of the trend that "during the Chinese New Year 80% of the shops in Lhasa were closed while during the Tibetan New Year only 20% of the shops were closed".

Chinese official figures say that in 1990 there were just under 45,000 Chinese living in Lhasa Prefecture, which means that if all lived within the city of Lhasa - said to have

a population of 139,816 - at most 32% of the city population were Chinese. These figures are widely regarded as underestimates.

Tibetans regularly circumambulate the Jokhang temple by walking round the Barkor as a sign of religious respect, and each year thousands of pilgrims travel across the Tibetan plateau, sometimes by foot, to perform the circumambulations, often living as beggars on the journey.

#### Clean Up Designed to Impress VIPs?

The street clearances, first reported on 8th August, may be part of an attempt to clean up the city in order to impress foreign visitors currently in Lhasa or due to arrive shortly.

Three journalists - from the *Baltimore Sun*, Japan's *Asahi Shinbun*, and the *Deutsche Presse Agentur* - were taken by the Chinese Government to visit Lhasa this week, in a rare relaxation of Beijing's virtual ban on western reporters going to Tibet.

The clean-up could be designed to impress a delegation from the US Congress which is now visiting China and may go to Tibet. The delegation includes Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi, who spearheaded the drive that has led to China's trading privileges in the US being conditional on Beijing's human rights record and "protecting Tibet's religious and cultural heritage".

Intense preparations are also expected for the forthcoming visit to Tibet by John Shattuck, a top US State Department official responsible for human rights policy, scheduled for the end of August.

A high-level team of Tibetan exiles from India, possibly including the Dalai Lama's elder brother Gyalpo Thondup, is believed to be in Tibet this week, according to sources in the capital, but there is no confirmation of this report, which has been denied by the exile Tibetan Government.

#### Text of main banners

The Tibetan text of the main banner read:

*drong bo sad mi chog*

which translates as "no beggars allowed". A banner hoisted over the new department store being built on the site of the Surkhang house, demolished in April 1993, read "

*mi dmangs kyi khroing khyer  
mi dmangs kyi do dam byed*

In English this reads: "the people's city, the people take care of it".

#### Tour Groups Nervous, Individuals Unwelcome in Tibet

TIN News Update / 23 July, 1993

Tourism in Tibet is going through a rough patch as group tourists, put off by anti-Chinese protests and police harassment, stay away from the region. At the same time the Chinese authorities in Tibet have taken steps to deter individual travellers from visiting Lhasa.

Group tourism in Tibet dropped by nearly a third last month, following street protests in Lhasa in late May and the arrest of a leading tour guide who had been talking about human rights to foreigners.

A spokesman for Holiday Inn confirmed today that occupancy at their jointly owned hotel in Lhasa, where almost all foreign groups stay, dropped to 24% in June, down from 33% the previous month. The spokesman did not comment on the reasons for the fall in trade.



The set-back to organised tourism comes just as the Chinese are about to launch a campaign to promote Tibet as a tourist venue, by flying a Boeing 767, apparently for the first time, into Lhasa's Gongkar airport. Until now the airport has been unable to handle planes larger than Boeing 707's. The 747 is a wide-bodied plane which can hold 247 passengers.

The flight, expected to take place on July 31st and to include high-ranking Chinese officials amongst its passengers, will mark the official opening of a 4,000 metre runway and a new terminal at the airport. China has spent some 268 million yuan (\$50M) on expanding facilities at Gongkar as part of an effort to increase the number of tourists in Tibet from 20,000 last year to 75,000 per year by 1996.

But the arrest in May of 46-year old Gendun Rinchen, Lhasa's best known tour guide, may deter group travellers, for whom the guide is usually the only Tibetan they will get to speak to on their trip.

Gendun Rinchen, accused of stealing state secrets, had been passing on information about the arrests and torture of political prisoners in Lhasa. His arrest, which could lead to the death sentence, may have been prompted by casual conversations he had with tourists in his groups about the human rights situation in Tibet.

Tour operators are likely to be nervous about taking groups to a country where speaking to the guide can end up with him being tried for treason.

#### 50 Yuan Surcharge on Individual Tourists

The Chinese authorities have now issued new regulations to deter individual travellers, which for the first time impose punitive fines on any individuals found in the city.

Notices were put up in hotels in the Tibetan capital in late June informing tourists that a daily fee of 50 yuan *FEC* (\$10) - supposedly to cover "costs of administration" - would be payable by any foreigner found in the city who was not a member of a tour group. *FEC*, or "foreign exchange certificates", are the form of higher-valued yuan which tourists are meant to use.

However, travellers in the city say that there has been no attempt to enforce the surcharge on individual travellers and access to the city is effectively no more difficult than it was earlier this year. The confusion may be a reflection of the growing disregard in China for central regulations which impede local money making activities.

The notices, issued by the Tibet Tourism Bureau in conjunction with other official bodies, were due to come into effect initially on 1st July, but implementation was later delayed until 5th July. The new regulations also listed other prices to be paid by foreigners, including the cost of breakfast in a hotel (15 *FEC*) and the price for hiring a jeep for one day (200 *FEC*).

Prices for beds at the cheaper hotels in the city have been set at 40 *FEC* price per night, with a 40% surcharge if the rate is paid in renminbi instead of Foreign Exchange Certificates.

But travellers in Lhasa said that even this attempt at price fixing was not being enforced, and most cheap hotels in Lhasa were charging around 28 *rmb* per night to foreigners, itself an increase of nearly 300% over 1987 prices.

The surcharges on individual travellers is supposed to be administered by hotels rather than by police, making it unpopular amongst local Tibetans many of whom, unlike the officials, are more likely to make money from individual

tourists than from group tours, according to an American traveller interviewed in Kathmandu.

"Hotel people I talked to about the new charge shrugged their shoulders and said, what are we supposed to do?" said the traveller.

"The officials have nostalgia for the good old days of martial law and of 1991 when they could close the place down at will, and when they could write a proclamation which and it would be obeyed," said another frequent visitor to Tibet, who described the new promulgation as ineffectual.

"Now too many people have a stake in making money", he said. But he did not rule out some travel companies in Lhasa adding the new fees into their charges.

One way in which money is being made out of individual travellers is through sky-high charges for the 30-hour bus ride from Golmud to Lhasa. Charges for this trip, the roughest way to enter Tibet, are now between 600 and 700 yuan. Tickets for the journey from Chengdu by air are only 300 yuan *FEC* more expensive, and the plane ride takes a fraction of the time.

#### Tourists Shut Away for Dalai Lama Birthday

Official unease about tourists seeing the wrong things became clear on July 6th, when Tibetans in Lhasa traditionally gather in fields beside the river east of Lhasa to celebrate the birthday of the Dalai Lama.

Individual tourists were "advised" to stay in their hotels for the day, and one hotel, the Snowlands, gave a free breakfast to each guest. The Banakshol Hotel organised a free picnic for its clients and one tourist who left her hotel to buy food said she was followed by hotel staff anxious to make sure that they returned quickly.

In fact the birthday gathering at the riverside passed off without major incident despite a heavy police presence, although a Tibetan flag - forbidden in Tibet - was later found in a tree near the picnic site.

Chinese officials appear nervous of individual travellers and prefer group tourists, because they bring in more revenue and have less contact with Tibetans.

"We want fewer but higher paying guests than before", a senior tourist official in Chengdu told the *South China Morning Post* in May 1990. "Backpackers spend almost nothing, stay for a long time and stir up the Tibetans against us. We definitely do not want them".

#### Text of Foreign Travel Regulations, June 10th 1993.

TIN Ref: 2(YR)

#### NOTICE

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Welcome to Lhasa. So that you may have safe and enjoyable travels [sic], We would like you to be aware of the following government regulations:

1) Foreigners travelling in China must abide by Chinese law and must not endanger the national security of China, harm its Public interests, disturb the Public order, or engage in any other activities incompatible with tourists status.

2) If Chinese citizens are holding a rally or demonstration, it is strictly forbidden for foreigners to participate in, follow along with, take pictures or video film any of these affairs. Foreigners are not allowed to interfere in Chinese internal affairs.

3) In accordance with regulations, foreign tourists must go through all registration formalities and stay only at a designated hotel. Without prior permission, travelling in unopened areas, using undesignated transportation, operating individual business or privately taking up an occupation is forbidden.

4) When travelling, all fares must be paid in F.E.C. Reselling foreign currency or F.E.C. at a profit is strictly forbidden.

5) Regulations specify that all tourists must join a travel group. Those tourists not part of a group will be charged 50 FEC per day for costs of administration.

6) Tourists who do not join a travel group will not receive visa extensions, travel permits, etc., from the Public Security Bureau.

7) For safety reasons, it is strictly forbidden for foreign tourists to travel by tractors or other privately operated means of transport. If by any chance a traffic accident happens, under these circumstances [sic], you will be responsible for your own actions and the results.

Foreign Travel Bureau of Lhasa  
[official stamp in Chinese and Tibetan]  
Travel Bureau of ChengGuan [City Administration] District  
[official stamp in Chinese and Tibetan]  
Division of Aliens and Exit Entry Administration [sic] of Lhasa  
P.S.B.  
[official stamp in Chinese and Tibetan]  
June 10th 1993.

## Regulations for Foreign Investment

In July 1992 the Chinese authorities in the Tibet Autonomous Region issued laws covering foreign or external investment in the TAR; these were published in English by the Chinese authorities six months later in the magazine "China's Tibet".

The regulations are designed to encourage investment both by foreigners and by Chinese citizens from inland China; in particular, they may be aimed at encouraging investment by overseas Chinese investors or Tibetans from India or Nepal. Mining is specifically encouraged, except for certain unnamed "state-set specific" ores.

The regulations clearly apply equally to foreigners and to Chinese citizens who want to invest in the TAR. The term "guest businessman" is used throughout the text, apparently to include investors from inland China (who could be either individuals or, more likely, enterprises or institutions) as well as foreigners.

The regulations offer substantial bonuses and concessions to external investors. Tourist enterprises pay no income tax for the first three years, enterprises in farm produce, handicrafts and production enterprises pay none for four years, and enterprises involved in transport, agriculture or herding pay none for five years.

There is no import duty on any of the materials, machinery or equipment required to start and run a venture - a significant concession, according to investment consultants. The article that states, however, was omitted from the official English text printed in "China's Tibet".

The most prominent incentive offered is a huge tax free award or prize which is promised to anyone who introduces a new enterprise into the TAR - they will receive a cash award worth 3% of the total investment. There is a special incentive for Chinese citizens who bring an enterprise into the TAR: they will have guaranteed jobs and urban residence permits for five of their relatives.

However, the regulations do not make it clear whether a foreign can be a sole owner of an enterprise in Tibet. "One of the most important questions when considering foreign direct investment concerns the statutory limits on foreign stock holding", an investment expert told TIN in London. "It is essential to know how much of an enterprise you will be able to control before making an investment." The TAR regulations, he pointed out, do not define the maximum amount of shares that can be bought by a foreign stockholder. The official English translation implies that sole ownership is possible but this may be misleading since, perhaps significantly, it omits the sentence in the Chinese text that says "the ratio of investment in joint and sole ventures is to be ... fixed in the contracts ... or approved by the relevant main responsible departments" (article 3, part 1).

The regulations also avoid discussion of the repatriation of profits, and it is not clear whether a foreign investor can take any profits back out of Tibet - it could be that they are allowed only to re-invest them within China or Tibet. Article 9 allows foreign enterprises to re-invest profits in the autonomous region and to receive tax relief on this re-investment. Article 13 says profits need not be split between joint venture partners in the proportion of their share holdings, and mentions "foreign exchange earnings", but the context is not clear. Article 14, deleted from the Chinese version, is the only place specifically mentioning money being transferred back to the place of origin of the foreign investor, but again it is not clear if this refers to profits or whether there are any limits on such transfers.

One difference between the original Chinese text and the official English translation concerns land rights, raising doubts about whether land "development and management" is under the control of foreign enterprises. In the official translation the regulation which discusses land ownership (Article 3, part 6) replaces the phrase "the right to develop and manage the land" in the original Chinese text with the phrase "according to the law for development" in the English translation. This could be taken to mean that there are restrictions on land development and management, which would be a serious impediment to an investor's freedom to develop an enterprise.

The regulations, issued on 14th July 1992, are printed here from the official English translation published in *China's Tibet*, Vol.3, No.4, Winter 1992, pp19-20, except for the 7 articles omitted in that version (articles 14-16 and 18-21). These have been translated unofficially by TIN and marked with an asterisk (\*). The regulations are printed here in their entirety. [*China's Tibet*, loc.cit.; TIN Ref.: 9(XW)]

## Some Rules on Encouraging Investment from Abroad and from Within the Country to Tibet

(14th July 1992)

In order to absorb investment both from within and outside the country, and to quicken the economic development of Tibet, these rules are made:

Rule 1. The Autonomous Region encourages enterprises, companies, other economic organizations or individuals ([later on in the text referred to as guest traders [keshang]] from within and outside the country to come to invest in Tibet and run economic bodies and be involved in economic and social causes.

Rule 2. The TAR protects the legal rights of the guest traders [keshang] according to the law. The capital of the guest traders [keshang] will not be nationalized. When the customers would like to lend to the state or the state puts a levy on the guest traders' [keshang] investment enterprises according to the needs of public interest, it will give appropriate compensation in accordance with the legal procedure.

Rule 3. The investment from within and outside China is not limited by regions, departments or professions, and the forms of investment and management can be as follows:

i. Investment in running joint venture enterprises, cooperative management enterprises, sole venture enterprises and other types of enterprises allowed by law. The time limitation of the business and the ratio of investment in joint and sole ventures is to be decided and fixed in the contracts by the investors or approved by the relevant main responsible departments.

ii. Purchase enterprises shares and bonds.

iii. Participation in management of business by participating in the purchasing of bonds, or contract management or lease management.

iv. Technical cooperation or technical transfer and technical contracts.

v. Start compensation trade, processing and repairing of incoming materials, co-operative [words missing in copy]

vi. Purchase of house property and legally obtain right to use of land, also the right to develop and manage the land.

vii. To unite the enterprises inside the region into joint ventures and cooperatives in special economic zones, open cities, economic technical development regions, provinces and cities in the mainland and abroad.

viii. Other investment management modes popular in and outside the country.

Rule 4. Priority arrangement and treatment are given to investment items coming from both within and outside the country to Tibet in the aspects of planning, establishment of items and report for approval, equipment capital, the start of project construction and registration etc.

Rule 5. According to the principle of separation of the right to land ownership from the right to use the land, the guest trader obtains permission by way of paid rent [youchangchurang]; the guest traders can also use the state-owned land within the region through ways other than paying rent [shourang].

i. The time limit on the lease of the right to use land is 50-70 years. Advantageous treatment is given to the right to use land.

ii. The Tibetan partner of a joint venture, cooperative or other modes of united management can use its original right to use the land as investment or use it as stock to join the united management.

iii. Those independent enterprises whose management period is above 10 years and who use state-owned land within the region, are free of city and township land-use tax within the approved construction period, and the arable lands they use are free from arable land occupation tax. Starting from the year of opening business, within 8 years they will pay half of the land-use tax. Those whose management period is less than 10 years and who occupy the arable land will be free of arable land occupation tax. Within the period of construction they are free from city and township land-use tax.

iv. Enterprises of a joint venture, cooperative or other united management modes which run businesses using the land of the existing enterprises in the region or newly occupy the state-owned land to run business through approval, will, within the approved construction period, be free of town and city land-use tax, and the

arable land occupied will be free of arable land occupation tax. From the year of their opening business, within 8 years, they are free of land-use tax.

v. Advantageous treatment will be given to guest traders' investment enterprises which undertake productive development management when levying land use fees.

Rule 6. Paid exploitation will be carried out according to the law of the mineral resources within the region. Apart from the mineral resources specified by the state, the guest traders can discover and exploit all other minerals through joint ventures, cooperatives and independent management, through approval by the Autonomous Region People's Government.

Rule 7. While running productive enterprises in Tibet, the income from production and management will be levied at 10% of the enterprises' income from the year when they start to make profits. No local income tax will be charged. Enterprises which undertake the following production and management will have further advantages:

i. Enterprises which undertake the production and management of energy resources, transportation, agriculture and animal husbandry, whose management period is more than 10 years, will be free from being charged enterprises' income tax from the 1st to the 5th year starting from the year when they start to make a profit; from the 6th to the 8th year they will pay half the enterprises' income tax.

ii. Reproductive enterprises such as the processing of agricultural and animal local products, national handicraft industries, tourist commodities etc., whose management period is over 10 years, will be free from the charge of income tax from year 1 to 4, and from the 5th to the 6th year, they will pay half the income tax.

iii. Industries which undertake tourist development causes whose investment exceeds 5 million American dollars or 30,000,000 Yuan rmb, and whose management period is over 10 years will, from the year when they start to make profits, be free of income tax from year 1 to 3, and in the 4th year they pay half the income tax. For those who cannot reach the above standards, years one and two will be free of income tax, and in year 3 they are to pay half of the income tax.

Rule 8. Guest traders who do not establish offices in our region but have stock interests, interest, rents, fees for right of priority and other income from our region, will be charged 7% income tax, apart from those who are free from income tax according to the law.

Rule 9. Guest traders who gain interest from the enterprises within the region and who re-invest in enterprises or increased production in our region, whose time limit is no less than 5 years, will have all the income tax already charged for the re-investment parts returned to them.

Rule 10. Taxes other than income tax are dealt with in a similar way for enterprises of the same sort within the region, or in accordance with the enterprises within the region. Allow the guest traders to use RMB to substitute foreign currency in order to hand in the tax.

Rule 11. Both the interest earned by the guest traders and foreign workers' income will be free of income tax when sent abroad.

Rule 12. Joint ventures, cooperatives and other forms of united management in our region all enjoy the same policy of free tax. After lessening or being free of income tax according to above rule, those whose foreign sales is above 50% of the total sales income of the year, will be charged half of the enterprise's income tax for the year.



Rule 13. Interest of all enterprises within the region in the form of joint ventures, cooperatives or any other forms of united management will first be divided and then levied tax. When deciding about the distribution, the ratio of investment of the guest traders can be higher than their investment ratios. The detailed ratio will be secured in the agreement contract by each side of the united management, and the same principle applied to the distribution of the creation of currencies.

\*Rule 14. When each level of the People's Government organizes its subordinate enterprises to come to Tibet to run joint enterprises, the total production value of these can be calculated by investment ratios at the original place. The income tax from interest earned by the guest traders can be handed in at the original place; the circulating tax that guest traders hand in can, through consultation by each side or according to agreements between mutual help provinces and districts, be returned to the finances of the original place of the guest traders.

\*Rule 15. The productive enterprises and enterprises that belong to item 7, Rule 3, are seen as enterprises within the region and enjoy the same senior management policy as enterprises of the same kind within the region.

i. They can obtain loans from each bank within the region on the same conditions and enjoy the unified interest rate within the region.

ii. They will have the same treatment concerning the supply and price of goods used for production such as fuels, energy, raw materials and assistance materials.

iii. Products that need to be sold outside the region must be assisted by the relevant department, or they can commission commercial departments within the region to deal with this.

iv. Export products, except for special state-designated products, enjoy relevant preferential treatment like the enterprises of a similar kind within the region.

v. Both independently owned and multi-owned enterprises can participate in border trade between Tibet and the neighbouring country and enjoy relevant advantageous treatment.

vi. The manager of the enterprise will enjoy sufficient freedom of autonomy.

vii. Other preferential treatment relating to production and management.

\*Rule 16. Necessary imported machinery, equipment and construction materials for the construction of the enterprises will be exempted from import custom tax and unified industrial and commercial tax.

Office equipment, staff settlements, transportation of tools etc. imported by the guest traders, if within a reasonable amount, will be exempted from import custom tax and industrial and commercial unified tax, and they do not have to have import permits under the supervision of the customs office.

If all the products of imported original materials, assistant materials, wrapping materials etc. imported by the guest traders for their own enterprises, are then exported after production, they will be exempted from import custom tax and industrial and commercial unified tax; if only parts of the products are exported, then exemptions of import custom tax and industrial and commercial unified tax will be given to the products that contain the imported materials and equipment; import custom tax will be levied on the imported materials and equipment which are sold internally, on which

half of the total industrial and commercial unified tax will also be levied.

Rule 17. The capital of the independently owned or multi-owned guest traders' enterprises in Tibet can be commissioned to be dealt with by their relatives or friends within the country who hold legal commission documents; the capital can also be transferred and inherited. The guest traders can also arrange for 3-5 of their relatives who have working ability to work in their own enterprise; they are allowed to register their registration booklets where the enterprises are, and arrange for 'the transfer of agricultural registry booklets to non-agricultural registry booklets'.

\*Rule 18. The [zaju?] rate of the stable capital of the guest traders' investment enterprises in Tibet can be raised by 5-10% with the approval of the local finance department on the basis of the current regulations of the country.

\*Rule 19. The investment items of the guest traders in Tibet can be chosen among the items proclaimed by the Autonomous Region, each level of local government and relevant departments. They can also propose their own investment intentions and apply for approval to the relevant government department of the area where they want to invest.

\*Rule 20. The technicians and management personnel that the guest traders employ from outside the country can apply for multi-entry certificates.

\*Rule 21. If arguments arise with the guest traders when implementing the contracts within the region or arguments relating to the contracts arise, the parties involved should do their best to solve them by consultation; when relevant parties do not wish, or cannot solve them through consultation, the guest traders can ask the Autonomous Region Commercial Arbitration Commission to solve it. They can also apply for an arbitration judgement to the arbitration offices outside the region, offices at the state level or international level, subject to the agreement of both parties involved, based on the contract.

Rule 22. Whoever introduced the guest trader to invest in Tibet, no matter whether he or she is a Chinese citizen, overseas Chinese (Tibetans), Hong Kong, Macao, or Taiwan compatriot, or another foreigner, so long as he or she is not the investor in the item, the director of the project or direct mediator who has already been offered introduction fees, should be given a reward. The money will be given by the work units who received the benefits; the amount should be 3% of the total investment amount that is within 1 million RMB or 200,000 American dollars, 5% for investment above this figure, and they will also be exempt from personal income tax.

Rule 23. Whoever offers free assistance to help the Tibetan economy and social causes will be issued honorary certificates by the Autonomous Region People's Government. Those who assist important projects will be issued honorary certificates by the State Council and a long term memorial will be established in Tibet.

#### Nepal Police Kill 1 Tibetan, Beat 7 Others TIN News Update / 19 June, 1993

A Tibetan escapee was shot dead by Nepalese police shortly after crossing the border into Nepal last week, according to an official statement from Kathmandu. 7 other Tibetans, including a woman, say that after the shooting they were beaten and robbed by police.

The escapee died after Nepali police from Ilaka police-post, near the border with Tibet, opened fire on a large group of Tibetans, according to a statement from the Nepalese Home Ministry, published in the official paper, The Rising Nepal, on June 17th.



The Government spokesman claimed that the police had opened fire in self-defence "as the infiltrators made a violent attack on them", according to the newspaper. The Tibetans were "hiding in forests after entering Nepal illegally from the Tibet Autonomous Region of China", said the spokesman.

Members of the 60 strong group interviewed today by TIN say that they were running away from the police when the shooting began. They named the dead man as Jamyang Kelsang, a monk aged 20 or 21 from Lithang, in Kham, or Eastern Tibet, now called Sichuan, and said the incident took place on 15th June.

None of the Tibetans were armed or had offered any resistance, except for two boys, aged between 10 and 12 years old, who had thrown stones at the legs of the policeman, said the Tibetans.

The boys had become frightened when a force of between 40 and 60 police descended on a small village restaurant where the group of Tibetans were sitting having dinner, about 12 miles south of the border town of Kodari. The police, who were armed with rifles and pistols, arrived in two buses and a police van and began shouting at the Tibetans and threatening them, said the survivors.

Police started throwing stones at the Tibetans, and then opened fire as the escapees ran towards the forest surrounding the village, shooting the monk Jamyang Kelsang through the skull.

Two others were injured by gunfire, Jangchup, a 17 year old boy, who was shot through the shoulder, and Tsawang, a 29 year old man, who received a flesh wound on his left cheek from a bullet. Two elderly members of the group are still unaccounted for, but the others have all been released by police or have found their way to Kathmandu.

Seven of the Tibetans were captured by police after they were brought down by gunfire or by stones thrown by police. The seven, who include a 15 year old boy and a 25 year old woman, say that they were all beaten, two of them seriously, by police after the arrest, and that all were stripped and robbed of their money by the police.

A Tibetan named Tashi had his collar bone broken on the right side by a blow from a police club. Tashi, who has gone deaf and has not spoken since the incident, appears to have lost full control of one leg, suggesting that he had been kicked in the back, according to a medically trained observer who inspected him. Others in the group said that he had been beaten while he was on the ground.

Tsawang, who received a cheek wound from a bullet, was badly bruised on his back and shoulder, but remembers nothing of the beating because he had been knocked unconscious when the beating began, according to a statement he made to TIN.

A 17 year old boy, Thupten, was hit with a club or stick and wounded on the side of the head and on the right ear. Gyada, a 22 year old male, was injured on the back of his head after being hit by stones. A 15 year old boy named Dhargye received a wound on the right side of his head from

police clubs, and showed TIN a wound from a club across his nose, suggesting that he had been beaten in the face.

A 25 year old woman, Lhamo, also from Lithang, was whipped by police with a belt as well as being beaten on the back of her head with a club or stick, according to a TIN interviewer.

#### Police Robbed Us, say Refugees

After the beatings the seven said that the police took them to the health post at Kodari, where medical staff provided first aid. The, at about midnight the same night, they were taken to a police station where police searched them and took their money. One said that he lost 1,300 Chinese yuan, about a year's salary for a Government employee in Tibet, and another said that police took 2,500 rupees they found on him.

The original confrontation with police seems to have been sparked off by an incident earlier in the day when a lone policeman who interviewed the Tibetans through an interpreter was given 2,000 rupees and a number of valuables, but refused any further payments.

A group of Nepalis had earlier stoned the Tibetans after the escapees had refused to pay a bribe of over 20,000 rupees in order to charter a bus to Kathmandu, claimed the Tibetans.

Six of the seven who were interviewed were monks or were men hoping to join monasteries in India. The group of escapees, which included four children, had all come from the area of Lithang in Kham.

This is the third time in two years that Nepali border police have shot dead a Tibetan escapee, always claiming either that the Tibetans had attacked the police or that they had run away from the police. The Nepali Home Ministry said on Wednesday that a team has been sent to hold an official investigation into the incident.

There are frequent reports of the Nepali police robbing or harassing Tibetans who enter Nepal. On 14th June a lobby group in the US disclosed details of documents proving that in 1992 scores of Tibetan refugees were illegally handed back by Nepal to the China.

The situation seems to have deteriorated since a top Nepali politician, interviewed by TIN three months ago, said that the Home Ministry was taking steps to deal with incidents of police robbing Tibetan refugees. "I can't exonerate the police from this vice of earning more money than they are paid," Mr KP Bhattarai, head of the ruling Nepali Congress Party and former Prime Minister, told TIN. "But at the lower level if it is there it doesn't cause much harm," he added.

The number of Tibetans crossing illegally into Nepal either as refugees or pilgrims has continued to increase this year, apparently as a result of the Chinese relaxing security on the border.

Over 2,000 have arrived in the Nepalese capital in the first six months of this year, said one source, all of them heading for India with the aim of seeking asylum, visiting pilgrimage places, or seeking a Tibetan education with the exile Tibetan community in Northern India.

## Tibet Information Network TIN News Compilation, October 1993

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#### European Parliament Resolution on Tibet

TIN News Update / 15th December, 1992

On 15th December the European Parliament passed a major resolution, without dissenting votes, on the situation in Tibet, criticising Chinese policies on human rights in Tibet and proposing various lines for pursuing a resolution of the Sino-Tibetan dispute.

The resolution embodied the main text of a report prepared over two years by the German M.E.P., Jannis Sakellariou, at the request of the Parliament's sub-committee on human rights, which in April 1990 had invited the Dalai Lama to address a hearing on human rights in Tibet in Brussels. The Chinese Ambassador had refused to attend the hearing and subsequently refused to allow Mr Sakellariou to visit Tibet in his capacity as rapporteur for the committee.

A delegation of other M.E.Ps was allowed to visit Lhasa from 20 to 23 September 1991 and the tone of the resolution reflects, in its own words,

*the fact that the freedom of movement of the individual members of the delegation was restricted and that they were prevented from obtaining information outside the official programme for the visit ... by the presence of security forces in large numbers.*

The resolution takes a firm line on both individual human rights abuses, calling for the release of all political prisoners, and asking for International Committee of the Red Cross to be allowed to visit prisons.

It stated support for the Tibetans' absolute right to self-determination, but made it clear that it supported only for a non-maximal claim - one that does not include independence. The Dalai Lama "has made clear that he does not insist that Tibet should become totally independent", noted the resolution. However, it describes that the current

degree of autonomy granted to Tibet as "insufficient" and elsewhere refers to Tibet as a country.

The resolution recognises the aspirations of Tibetans for independence, including those living in Kham and Amdo. "The fate of these people must also be taken into account as the Tibetan people strive to gain independence," says the resolution, which recommends that as a sign of good will the Chinese Government should incorporate "all Tibetan territories into a single administrative and political unit".

The resolution expresses particular concern about

*the encouragement given to the resettlement of Chinese in Tibet, which marginalizes the Tibetan culture and threatens ... their ability to participate effectively in any political process both currently and if Tibet were to become democratic in the future.*

The Chinese extraction of timber and natural resources "contravenes the UN Declaration of the Rights of Peoples to Sovereignty over Natural Resources", says the resolution, urging the Chinese to place economic affairs and resource management in the hands of local Tibetans.

It regretted restrictions placed on the movement of Tibetans in Tibet, as well as on visiting delegations and journalists from abroad, and condemned in particular the persecution of Tibetans who try to "supply information to foreign delegation members which deviates from that prescribed by the Chinese authorities".

A special request was made that the Potala Palace, currently under reconstruction in conditions of some secrecy by the Chinese state, should be made a UNESCO 'World Heritage Site', and that Tibetans and international observers should be involved in "the reconstruction of all culturally sensitive sites".

The Parliament also called for the resumption of negotiations between the Tibetans and the Chinese, recommending the Dalai Lama's Five-point plan as a basis.

Its most influential decision, which will affect EC policy, was that EC assistance to China should be "conditional on the observance of basic human rights and freedoms, particularly in Tibet". It also called on the Commission to issue an annual report on the situation in Tibet.

It urged the EC to allocate a percentage of its China aid to Tibet, and insisted that "EEC-funded or supported projects in Tibet must genuinely serve the interests of the Tibetan people and involve a majority of Tibetans at all levels". Where this cannot be achieved immediately, the Parliament said, "provision must be made for Tibetans to be trained in order to replace the Chinese managers, experts and technicians sent to the country."

In an unusual look towards the future, the European Parliament considered the practical difficulties that Tibet might face "on the termination of its one-sided dependence on the People's Republic of China" and pointed out that "economic support measures will be needed to enable the country to use its natural resources independently and to bring its economic and political isolation to an end".

### **Britain Increases Pressure Over Tibet**

TIN News Update / 15 January, 1993

The British Government has signalled to Beijing that it should drop the preconditions it is imposing on negotiations with the Dalai Lama over Tibet.

A carefully worded public statement released this week is part of a series of moves apparently designed to increase British pressure on China over its Tibet policy.

In a statement to Parliament on Wednesday 13th January Alastair Goodlad, a Foreign Office Minister, said that the British Government is "strongly in favour of the principle of talks without preconditions".

The Minister announced that the Chinese had been informed of this the previous day.

That same day two high officials from the Exile Tibetan Government were received at the Foreign Office, the first time exile Tibetan officials have been received in an official capacity at Whitehall for at least twenty years.

Although the British in common with many Governments have encouraged Beijing and the Dalai Lama to enter into dialogue this is the first time that a Government has called on the Chinese to lift preconditions placed on the Dalai Lama, and the first time it has indicated that the Chinese are responsible for the delay in starting the talks.

The British statement appears to be based on reports from the Dalai Lama, who told *Le Monde* on December 28th last year that the Chinese were blocking negotiations by "continuing to demand that I first declare that Tibet is an inseparable part of China".

Such a statement was "impossible", stated the exiled Tibetan leader, who had already said that he does not plan to ask for independence. "That would mean going backwards to change history, and no-one can do that".

He added that his elder brother Gyalto Thondup, who is now Chief Minister in the Exile Government, and two other exile officials were ready to leave for Beijing to begin discussions once the Chinese give up their demand for a prior statement.

A Whitehall spokeswoman said today that the new wording by the British was a response to changes by the Chinese side, and did not represent a shift by the British. "We

understand that the Chinese have set preconditions and therefore we are urging them to enter into these negotiations without preconditions", she said.

"There has been no change in our policy", she added, but did not deny that the call to lift preconditions had not been publicly stated before.

Until now British criticism of Chinese policy in Tibet has been confined to their abuses of individual human rights. Their latest move is likely to be seen as stepping up pressure on the Chinese, and mirrors the change of policy in Hong Kong which followed the departure from office of Mrs Thatcher's special advisor on Foreign Affairs, Sir Percy Craddock, last year.

### **Tibetan Officials in Whitehall Meeting**

Whitehall officials are also trying to play down the significance of the meeting on Tuesday 12th January between British and exile Tibetan officials.

The Tibetan delegation was led by Professor Samdhong Rimpoche, Chairman of the Exile Tibetan Parliament currently based in Northern India, who briefed the British on the progress of negotiations with the Chinese.

Whitehall officials, apparently out of sensitivity to Chinese reactions, later insisted that the Tibetans had visited as guests of a group of British MPs.

Further indication of increasing British interest in Tibetan politics had come earlier in the week when a Foreign Office official was sent as observer to a 5 day conference of international lawyers on Tibet's claim to self-determination.

In December the Chinese Government, through its London Embassy, had "strongly insisted" that the conference be cancelled.

The conference, which ended in London on Sunday 10th January, concluded that Tibet is currently under "alien occupation and domination" and that the Tibetan people are "entitled to the exercise of the right to self-determination".

The delegates, including distinguished lawyers from America, Europe, Australia and Africa, also called for an immediate end to the settlement of non-Tibetans from China in traditional Tibetan territory.

### **US Policy Shift on China Human Rights**

TIN News Report / 6 February, 1993

China is likely to face a censure motion led by the US in the UN, according to observers in Geneva, where the UN Commission on Human Rights has just begun its annual session.

Human rights lobbyists say that it is likely that the US and the European countries will put forward a resolution criticising human rights abuses in the PRC, expected to come to a vote on 9th March.

Previous resolutions have been introduced since the Tiananmen massacres of 1989, but have always failed, due to Asian and African support for Beijing, as well as reluctance by the US to pay more than lip-service to the moves.

Last year the US effectively torpedoed an attempt by EC and Central American countries to criticise China, but it has now signalled its determination for the first time not only to support but to actively pursue a resolution against China.

Last week the Clinton Administration appointed Richard Shifter, top US official for human rights under the Bush



administration, to be head of its delegation to the UN in Geneva.

Mr. Shifter resigned from the State Department in March last year the night before a crucial vote in the UN on China, leading to rumours that he had disagreed with the US failure to pursue China energetically in the UN.

An even stronger sign of American policy change has come from the reported inclusion in the US delegation this year of the leading American sinologist Merle Goldman, professor of Chinese history at Boston University, author of two noted studies on the persecution of Chinese intellectuals, and a long-term advocate of human rights in China.

It is extremely unusual for a country-specific expert other than a diplomat to be included in a UN team, and the decision is being read by observers in Geneva and Washington as an indicator that the US is determined to get criticism of Chinese human rights abuses on to the record at the UN Commission for the first time in over 20 years.

The shift in US policy over China human rights is accompanied by rumours about whether President Clinton has or has not already committed himself to renewing China's trade privileges with the US, known as most favoured nation status.

One unconfirmed report claims that a Clinton aide was sent to Beijing in September to assure Chinese leaders that Chinese trade privileges would be not be withdrawn if Clinton won the election, or that renewal would be accompanied only by token conditions.

The US attempt to push for a UN resolution criticising China, which will infuriate the Chinese but will cost them nothing in real terms, may be intended by Washington to offset any domestic criticism of its failure to maintain Clinton's campaign rhetoric against China if the President accedes to pressure from US and Hong Kong business lobbies and renews China's most favoured nation status.

#### **China Avoids UN Criticism** TIN News Update / 11 March, 1993

AN attempt in the UN to criticise China's human rights record failed late last night 10th March when Beijing used a technical device to avoid a censure motion.

A resolution expressing concern at "continuing reports of violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in China" had been proposed by 23 countries, led by the US and members of the European Community, and was due to be voted on by the 54 members of the UN Commission on Human Rights, who conclude their annual meeting in Geneva on Friday.

China used a procedural device to persuade the UN Commission to rule that no action should be taken on the resolution, arguing that any criticism was an interference in its internal affairs.

The same device was used in 1990 and 1992 to thwart previous attempts in the Commission to pass resolutions criticising China.

But Beijing is likely to be worried by the decreasing level of support it is receiving in the UN. Last year it won an identical resolution by 27 votes to 15, a margin of 12 votes, but this year only 22 members of the Commission supported China, while 17 opposed it - a margin of only 5 votes.

Significant changes of position came from Gambia, Lesotho and Chile, who all supported China last year but abstained this year. Bulgaria, which had abstained in 1992, voted against China last night.

The shift supports recent indications that some African countries may be distancing themselves from the increasingly powerful Asian block, who have launched a major campaign to avoid Western criticism of their record on civil and political rights by defining subsistence as the primary human right.

At this year's Commission a group of African countries surprised observers by putting forward a resolution emphasising the importance of civil and political rights, a direct challenge to the new Asian position.

The fact that China itself had to move the resolution calling for no action is also seen as a loss of face for the Beijing regime. UN protocol prefers a third party to propose a no action resolution, but Cuba and Pakistan, who managed the procedural device for China in previous years, appear to have been unwilling to manage China's defence on this occasion.

The Chinese Ambassador to the Commission, Jin Yongjian, last week described the Western-backed resolution criticising China as "utterly unjustifiable" and as being done "out of political bias and motives".

"No pretext can cover up their attempt to exert political pressure on China by means of human rights", said Mr Jin of the US and the European Community countries.

#### **UN Calls for Medical Checks on Prisoners in China** TIN News Update / April 28, 1993

A high powered UN body has told the Chinese government to arrange for doctors to check all detainees in Chinese prisons in a bid to lessen the incidence of torture and ill-treatment.

The UN Committee against Torture, in a statement issued on Friday 23rd April, made the demand in response to a report by China detailing Beijing's attempts to improve the treatment of prisoners under its control.

The UN request amounts to implicit acceptance that torture continues to take place in Chinese prisons.

The Committee, which monitors observance of the UN Convention against Torture, which China signed in 1988, offered a number of suggestions to help the PRC stop torture, but made its strongest statement in the demand that all detainees "should be examined by doctors immediately after their arrest ... and regularly thereafter".

It also called on China to publish precise figures of the numbers of people held in prisons and detention centres, but despite strong questioning from the Committee last week the Chinese Ambassador to the UN in Geneva failed to give figures for the total number of detainees.

Ambassador Jin stuck to China's claim that 1.2 million are in prison, a figure that almost certainly excludes those held without trial in various forms of detention centre, believed by some observers to bring the total to as high as 16 million.

One Committee member asked China about the "shelter and investigation", a form of administrative detention believed to involve up to 1.5 million people each year, but not referred to in the Chinese report.

The demands are likely to embarrass China, who fielded an unusually large delegation of 11 officials including representatives of the Public Security and Justice Ministries in an attempt to resist criticism of its torture record by non-governmental organisations such as Amnesty International.



"China is serious about its obligations to eradicate torture, and has taken various steps to achieve that end," Ambassador Jin told the Committee.

339 cases of torture had been investigated in China in 1992, of which 180 had led to charges, said the Ambassador. This was 30% less than the previous year, when 279 cases of torture had been brought to trial out of 407 cases investigated, he said. He gave no indication as to the number of people who had been convicted for torture offences.

Yuri Khitrin, the member of the Committee nominated by Russian Government, referred to the system of "re-education through labour", asking whether China "really needed to maintain a Gulag system" in this day and age.

The Canadian nominee, Peter Burns, called China's official claim that it has no political prisoners - they are termed instead counter-revolutionaries - as "reminiscent of George Orwell's 'double think'".

Professor Burns cited a case reported by Amnesty involving a journalist who was detained for 'shelter and investigation' for 13 months after the suppression of the democracy movement in 1989. The man is now partially paralysed, allegedly as a result of being beaten during his detention.

The Committee also insisted that China supply accurate figures for the number of prisoners it has executed. Incomplete figures compiled by Amnesty from published Chinese sources show that in each of the past few years more people have been executed in China than in the rest of the world put together.

As a Treaty body the Committee against Torture has relatively high status within the UN, but it has no powers to enforce its demands on nations which breach the Convention. China has to present a further report on its observance of the Convention in November this year, and the Committee is likely to expect to see statistics for the complete prison population and for executions in that report.

#### **Dalai Lama meets US President, is Promised Help** TIN News Update / April 28, 1993

The Dalai Lama had a meeting yesterday Tuesday 27th April in the White House with the US Vice-President, Al Gore, and with President Clinton.

The three men "discussed issues relating to Tibet", according to a White House statement.

During the ten minutes that he spent with the Vice President and the Dalai Lama, the US President, apparently referring to the issue of population transfer, told the Tibetan leader "we will do everything we can to help", according to Lodi Gyan, the Dalai Lama's envoy in Washington, who was present at the meetings.

"I deeply appreciated hearing the Dalai Lama's views on the situation in China, including Tibet", said the President in a statement this afternoon, using a phrase expressly designed to reassure Beijing that the US continues to recognise that Tibet is part of China.

He added a call for negotiations to resume, saying that his administration "continues to urge Beijing and the Dalai Lama to revive a dialogue between them". The US Government was also pressing China "to address human rights abuses in Tibet", the President said.

The Chinese Government criticised President Clinton for meeting the Dalai Lama, whom they said was "actually a political exile ... engaged in activities aimed at opposing the Chinese government and splitting China", reported *Xinhua* today.

There was some confusion amongst US officials on how to refer to the Dalai Lama and to Tibet, with the Presidential spokesman George Stefanopoulos referring to "China and Tibet" while other US officials stuck to the formula, "China including Tibet".

Presidential officials at first played down the significance of the meeting, referring to the Dalai Lama as "an important spiritual guest" to whom the President had paid "a brief courtesy call" during the 50 minute discussion between the Tibetan leader and Vice-President Gore.

In the later statement President Clinton softened the impression of cursory contact when he described the Dalai Lama as a Nobel Laureate and "a committed advocate of non-violent change and resolution of disputes". The Dalai Lama is "internationally revered for his spiritual and moral leadership", said the President.

Unofficial sources reported that contact between the three men had been good and that the Dalai Lama had focussed the discussion on the question of the reported influx of Chinese migrants into Tibet, which Tibetans say has increased dramatically in the last year.

A White House spokesman, referring to recent statements on the same issue made in the US Congress, said "we are looking at the population transfer issue and no decision has yet been made."

#### **First Meeting with US Secretary of State**

The previous day, 26th April, the Tibetan leader met with Secretary of State Warren Christopher at the State Department in Washington, the first time he has been officially received at the State Department.

"The Secretary expressed his concern over the human rights situation in China including Tibet," said a State Department spokeswoman.

The spokeswoman added in a more substantive phrase that Mr Christopher had also expressed "his support for the protection of Tibet's distinctive religion and culture".

State Department officials also sought to play down the encounter, describing it as "informal" and noting that it took place during an evening reception at which many guests were present. But other sources who were present at the reception say the two men, together with Under-secretary Peter Tarnoff, had discussions in a separate room while the reception was going on elsewhere.

This is the second Presidential meeting for the Dalai Lama, who had a "private" meeting with US President George Bush in 1991, but his first meeting with a Secretary of State.

#### **Tibet "Heritage" Included in US Conditions on China's MFN** TIN News Update / May 29, 1993 extract

The announcement yesterday that China will only be awarded "most favoured nation" status in 1994 if it improves its record on human rights was described by one leading senator as "making history".

In his executive order, indicating a major change in US-China policy, the President demanded full compliance from China on ending the export of prison made goods. He said renewal of the privileges in 1994 would be linked to "overall, significant progress" on five issues, including access to Chinese prisons by human rights organisations, the provision of an "acceptable" amount of information about political prisoners.

The most controversial condition called for progress on "protecting Tibet's distinctive religious and cultural

heritage", a move described yesterday by Senator Patrick Moynihan, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as "the first time since the invasion of Tibet that the Chinese subjugation of Tibet is a central issue in our relations".

The wording of some of the conditions was criticised by human rights organisations as too vague. Asiawatch, a leading US monitoring organisation, expressed "serious reservations", noting that the provision on protecting the Tibetan heritage could be easily evaded by the Chinese authorities.

"If today's Executive Order is to have any impact, the Administration must not be willing to settle for symbolic gestures," said the organisation, calling for the US Government to issue a progress report on Chinese compliance before the end of this year.

#### Text of MFN Conditions

#### Conditions for Renewal of Most Favoured Nation Status for The People's Republic of China in 1994.

Executive Order  
[May 28th, 1993]

*Whereas*, the Congress and the American people have expressed deep concern about the appropriateness of unconditional most-favoured-nation (MFN) trading status for the People's Republic of China (China);

*Whereas*, I share the concerns of the Congress and the American people regarding this important issue, particularly with respect to China's record on human rights, nuclear non-proliferation, and trade;

*Whereas*, I have carefully weighed the advisability of conditioning China's MFN status as a means of achieving progress in these areas;

*Whereas*, I have concluded that the public interest would be served by a continuation of the waiver of the application of sections 402 (a) and (b) of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2432(a) and 2432(b)) (Act) on China's MFN status for an additional 12 months with renewal thereafter subject to the conditions below:

*Now, therefore*, by the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, it is hereby ordered as follows:

**Section 1.** The Secretary of State (Secretary) shall make a recommendation to the President to extend or not to extend MFN status to China for the 12-month period beginning July 3, 1994.

a) In making this recommendation the Secretary shall not recommend extension unless he determines that:

-- extension will substantially promote the freedom of emigration objectives of section 402 of the Act; and

-- China is complying with the 1992 bilateral agreement between the United States and China concerning prison labor.

b) In making this recommendation the Secretary shall also determine whether China has made overall, significant progress with respect to the following:

-- taking steps to begin adhering to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

-- releasing and providing an acceptable accounting for Chinese citizens imprisoned or detained for the non-violent expression of their political and religious beliefs, including such expression of beliefs in connection with the

Democracy Wall and Tiananmen Square movements;

-- ensuring humane treatment of prisoners, such as by allowing access to prisons by international humanitarian and human rights organizations;

-- protecting Tibet's distinctive religious and cultural heritage; and

-- permitting international radio and television broadcasts into China.

**Section 2.** The Secretary shall submit his recommendation to the President before June 3, 1994.

**Section 3.** The Secretary, and other appropriate officials of the United States, shall pursue resolutely all legislative and executive actions to ensure that China abides by its commitments to follow fair, nondiscriminatory trade practices in dealing with U.S. businesses, and adheres to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Missile Technology Control Regime guidelines and parameters, and other non-proliferation commitments.

**Section 4.** This order does not create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by any person or entity against the United States, its officers, or employees.

[President Clinton, Washington]

#### **Dalai Lama Barred from UN; Austria Criticises China**

TIN News Update / June 11, 1993

A international row has broken out after top UN officials decided to bar the Dalai Lama from a meeting due to be held next week on UN premises.

Yesterday, Thursday 10th June, a senior UN official told non-governmental organisations (NGOs) attending the UN World Conference on Human Rights, due to start in Vienna next Monday, that the Dalai Lama could not speak even at unofficial meetings at the conference.

This morning the Austrian Government, who are hosting the UN conference, issued a public complaint about Chinese attempts to interfere in arrangements it had made for the Dalai Lama to attend other meetings during his trip to Vienna.

US Government officials are reported to have told the non-governmental organisations that they will support a move by the NGOs to bring the Dalai Lama into the UN building.

Amnesty International said it was "shocked" and "outraged" by the UN decision and offered to host a meeting by the Dalai Lama in a tent outside the UN building.

The controversy is taking place against the background of next week's UN World Conference, the most important meeting on human rights for a generation, at which some Asian countries including China propose to reverse the consensus under which all nations are bound to accept the same standards of human rights.

The parallel programmes include a series of meetings run by non governmental organisations at the conference centre, and a panel discussion hosted by the Austrian Government with a number of Nobel Peace Prize Laureates, due to take place in the Hofburg, the President's residence in Vienna.

#### **UN Bars Dalai Lama**

The row began yesterday after Ibrahim Fall, the Secretary General of the World Conference, announced the ban to the Joint NGO Planning Committee, led by Manfred Novak, director of the Vienna-based Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights.

"We have been told by the Secretary General of the UN Conference that all the parallel activities have to comply with the regulations of the main conference and should not address country-specific situations", Mr Novak said today after his meeting with Mr Fall, in which a number of issues were raised besides Tibet.

"But although I then told them that the Dalai Lama would not talk about country-specific situations but about religion, nevertheless I was told that he cannot talk at the Conference Centre, which for the month is considered part of the UN", said Mr Novak, who said he protested strongly against the decision.

The UN has ordered NGOs to ensure that no meetings refer in their titles to particular country situations, such as Bosnia or Punjab, in line with the ruling. Some items, including a seminar due to be held on Tibet, have been cancelled completely.

But the UN decision to reject the Dalai Lama goes beyond that ruling, and appears to ban him from entering the premises as well as from speaking.

A proposal by the Austrian Government for the Nobel Laureates, including the Tibetan leader, to watch Monday's Opening Ceremony from the visitors' gallery also appears to have been blocked or delayed by the UN.

"The UN Secretary-General has taken the decision to bar the Dalai Lama from entry into the Austria Centre", a spokesman for the Austrian Government told TIN this afternoon, referring to the building where both the UN and the NGO conferences are to take place.

Chinese pressure on Austria over the Hofburg conference and other meetings planned by Austria became public this morning when the Foreign Ministry in Vienna called in the Chinese Ambassador, Hu Benyao, to tell him that the Dalai Lama's invitation would not be withdrawn.

"The Chinese Ambassador was a little bit irritated ... and said that this matter will affect our bilateral relations and that there is a danger of these relations being a little disturbed", said a Foreign Ministry spokesman. "We told the Chinese Ambassador that it is on our national invitation and it is perfectly clear that we uphold this".

"The Soviets used to try to intimidate us when they sent tanks into Hungary and Czechoslovakia, but we were not intimidated then and we are not going to start this business nowadays", added the spokesman.

#### **NGO Petition Fails to Change UN Ruling**

A statement this afternoon by a UN spokeswoman that the NGOs themselves had refused the Dalai Lama permission to address the meeting on Monday was vehemently rejected as "completely wrong".

"It was the UN that told us that we should comply with that - and now they shift the burden onto us", said Mr Novak, on behalf of the Joint NGO Committee.

But he refused to blame Secretary General Fall. "He is only executing what states are telling him. He was certainly under heavy pressure," said Mr Novak, adding that the US delegation at the conference had assured him of their support if he were to go ahead with the Dalai Lama's meeting.

Several hours of negotiation with UN officials this evening failed to bring any change despite a petition signed by over 300 NGOs condemning the ruling as an "outrage".

Kalon Tashi Wangdi, Minister of International Relations in the Tibetan Government in Exile, described the position taken by the UN secretariat as "quite outrageous", but

predicted that China would be "isolated in its attempts to prevent any discussion on human rights in Tibet".

There was speculation that the decisions to ban the Dalai Lama had been taken personally by the UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali, who last month banned a Chinese dissident from UN premises in New York.

A human rights award ceremony in Vienna this evening attended by Mr Boutros Ghali was disrupted by sustained applause and an ovation when a speaker from an NGO condemned the UN decision to ban the Tibetan leader.

#### **Nobel Laureates Boycott Opening of Human Rights Conference**

*Reuters reports on the UN World Conference*

*Reuters, June 14* - The opening session of a UN human rights conference was boycotted on Monday by 14 Nobel Peace Prize winners in protest against the exclusion of exiled Tibetan leader the Dalai Lama.

"We met this morning and decided the boycott the opening ceremony as Nobel Laureates," said Pierre Sane, Secretary-General of Amnesty International, which was among the Nobel Laureates invited to the forum.

UN officials barred the Dalai Lama, also a Peace Prize winner, from attending the opening ceremonies of the UN World Human Rights Conference after China objected to his presence.

"It seems obvious to me to do this," Sane told Reuters. "The Dalai Lama has been denied a presence which would give this conference a moral aura. They are treating the world with contempt."

A group of non-government organisation representatives unfurled a banner with the words "Save Tibet".

Sane said all 14 Nobel Peace Laureates invited by the Austrian government had taken part in the boycott.

Also taking part were the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Amnesty itself represented by Sane, former Costa Rican president Oscar Arias Sanchez and Northern Ireland peace campaigner Betty Williams.

#### **US Demarche on Chinese Pressure**

*Reuters, June 14* - China's attempt to keep the Dalai Lama out of the conference sparked a diplomatic demarche by the United States on Sunday and host nation Austria, expected to chair the conference, left the door open for a last-minute invitation to the Tibetan spiritual leader to attend further meetings of the 14-day conference.

#### **Li Peng Slams Western Rights Campaign**

*Reuters, June 14 Beijing (Andrew Quinn)* - Chinese Premier Li Peng, absent from the public eye for seven weeks because of illness, jumped back on the political stage on Monday with a typically hardline blast at Western human rights campaigners and pro-democracy activists.

In talks with Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, Li slammed Western critics of Beijing and other Asian governments and said each country must define its own concept of human rights.

"Democracy is not an end but a means," Foreign Ministry spokesman Wu Jianmin quoted Li as saying, echoing Mahathir's own denunciations of Western rights groups.

"The imposition of a certain concept of democracy and human rights (from outside) should be opposed."



"Different countries have different views on democracy and human rights and on the priorities which should be accorded to them," Li was quoted as saying.

Li is best known internationally for his harsh attacks on student protesters after Beijing ordered tanks and troops to crush the Tiananmen Square pro-democracy demonstrations in 1989.

He abruptly disappeared on April 26 after cancelling a meeting with visiting Philippine President Fidel Ramos.

Chinese officials said he had a cold and was in hospital, but rumours spoke of everything from a heart attack to liver cancer. On Monday, however, he appeared cheerful and in fighting trim.

Part of the reason may have been the friendly atmosphere surrounding the Malaysian leader's visit.

Mahathir's 10-day trip to China is aimed at promoting better economic ties, and the two sides agreed on Monday to exchange consulates general to further economic cooperation.

But it is also giving the leaders a chance to coordinate their diplomatic policies, which reject Western notions of political pluralism and human rights as not applicable to Asia.

China is fighting a brushfire in Vienna over the human rights issue, where alleged Chinese attempts to block Tibet's exiled spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, from appearing at an international human rights conference have drawn heavy criticism.

Li heard no harsh words from Mahathir, who was quoted as saying that human rights were a tool Western governments use to subvert Asian countries.

"All this actually represents their attempts to destabilise our countries so as to get control of us," Wu quoted the Malaysian leader as saying.

Li assured Mahathir that despite its growing political and economic assertiveness, Beijing would never seek to dominate other Asian countries, and he dismissed the idea of a "China threat" as "just strange talk".

Wu said the two leaders did not spend a great deal of time discussing the territorial dispute over the Spratly islands, which are claimed in whole or part by China, Malaysia and several other countries.

"They were both of the view that the dispute should be settled by peaceful means," Wu said, without giving details.

Mahathir's delegation, which includes a large number of businessmen seeking to sign deals with the Chinese, will visit Urumqi, Kunming, Shenzhen and Haikou before heading home.

#### **Tibet-China Negotiations Resume**

TIN News Update / 12 July, 1993

A delegation of top Tibetan exile officials has arrived in Beijing today to hold talks with the Chinese Government, apparently the first official talks to take place for nearly ten years.

The Tibetan delegation is headed by Gyalo Thondup, an elder brother of the Dalai Lama, who has made at least ten previous trips to Beijing to hold talks with the Chinese since he first opened contacts with them by meeting Deng Xiaoping on 12th March 1979.

But he attended those talks as the "personal emissary" of the exiled Tibetan leader - this time he heads a two-man delegation which appears to represent the Tibetan

Government in exile, a body that has never been recognised by Beijing and that it accused of instigating major demonstrations in Lhasa in May. Mr Thondup is currently a Kalon or Cabinet Minister in the exile Government, and is in charge of the Department of Security.

The second member of the delegation is Sonam Topgyal, political secretary to the Kashag or cabinet of the exile Government. Unlike the Dalai Lama's elder brother, Mr Topgyal, former General Secretary of the Office of Information and International Affairs in the exile administration, does not have a reputation for compromise and is considered a tough negotiator.

Exile Tibetan officials declined to comment on today's reports, but noted that in Mr Thondup's last semi-official visit to Beijing, in June 1992, he was handed a ten point list of demands by the Chinese, described at the time as uncompromising, which insisted that all future contacts should be kept secret.

Last week all the international representatives of the Dalai Lama were recalled to attend an unscheduled meeting with the Tibetan leader at his base in Dharamsala in Northern India.

Despite the hard line presented by the Chinese in their last meeting with Gyalo Thondup unconfirmed reports suggest that they may accept discussion of confidence building measures between the two sides, rather than stick to their demand that the Dalai Lama renounce all past and future claims to independence before talks can begin.

The Chinese have been coming under increasing international pressure to drop that demand, and in January 1993 the British Government insisted publicly that the Chinese must not impose pre-conditions on the talks, a call that has since been echoed by other governments. On June 1st the European Community, following a visit by 11 EC diplomats to Lhasa, expressed their "disquiet at the general human rights situation of the Tibetan people" and urged both sides to begin negotiations without pre-conditions.

Confidence building measures on the agenda are expected to include discussions about economic involvement of Tibetan exiles in projects inside Tibet, according to one observer close to the Tibetan Government, who noted that for the last 18 months Beijing has been keen to attract outside investment into the region.

The Dalai Lama said in a recent interview that issues concerning status might take "more time" to resolve, but that other issues could be dealt with, of which "the greatest threat" was the current influx of Chinese migrants and traders into Tibet.

"I think some sort of agreement for the development inside Tibet, the education, the health, economy, population influx, and also the environment problem - these fields I think we can discuss, we can work out some concrete agreement," he told TIN.

If talks progress, the Tibetans are likely to be looking for restrictions on population influx into central Tibet, but will want discussions to include those areas which are inhabited by nearly 3 million Tibetans living in present-day China but outside the area regarded by Beijing as Tibet.

Chinese objectives will be to get the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet and to drop calls for independence.

Previous Tibet-Chinese talks at delegation level broke down in October 1984 after two visits by teams of exile officials to Beijing and four fact-finding missions by exiles to Tibet itself.

#### Dharamsala on Beijing Talks: "Frank and Cordial"

The Dalai Lama, in an interview published on 24th August by the French newspaper *Le Figaro*, said it was too early to draw conclusions from last month's talks in Beijing, noting that the two sides had not set a date for further discussions. "But I now intend to keep regular contacts with the Chinese ambassador to India," he said. "Let us say that for the first time the (Tibetan) delegation was invited without any previous conditions. And for the first time we think we have been listened to," he told the newspaper.

The Tibetan exile government issued a press release on 6th August from its base in India which was also optimistic and conciliatory in tone.

#### Tibetan Team Return After Talks in Beijing

Press release issued by the Department of Information and International Relations of the Central Tibetan Administration, India, 6th August 1993.

*A two-member Tibetan delegation representing His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Kalon Gyalo Thondup and Political Affairs Secretary Sonam Topgyal, has returned from a brief visit to Beijing. The delegation presented a personal letter and note from His Holiness the Dalai Lama addressed to the Chinese leadership.*

*The delegation met with Senior Officials of the United Front Department and concerned ministers. Frank and cordial discussion took place between the delegation and the Chinese officials concerned.*

*The delegation has returned to Dharamsala and reported to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and briefed the Tibetan parliament in exile which is in session. The delegation has stated the government of China wishes to maintain contact with His Holiness the Dalai Lama.*

#### Beijing on Beijing Talks: Dalai Lama must "Stop Splitting"

Press release commenting on the delegation's visit to Beijing issued by the Chinese Government, via the official Chinese news agency, *Xinhua*, 25 August 1993.

*A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today (Beijing, 25th August) that the Dalai Lama is welcome to end his exile and return to the motherland.*

*The spokesman made this remark when asked by reporters on whether the dialogue between the Chinese central government and the Dalai Lama is actually underway after Gyalo Thondup, Dalai Lama's brother, had reportedly visited China recently.*

*The Dalai Lama told a press conference in New Delhi on 12th August about his brother's trip to China. The spokesman said the affairs of Tibet are an internal business of China's and that the door of negotiations between the central government and the Dalai Lama remains wide open. Except independence of Tibet, the spokesman noted, all other questions can be negotiated.*

*"We hope that the Dalai Lama will stop his activities of splitting the motherland and give up his position for 'Tibetan independence'," the spokesman added.*

*"The Dalai Lama is welcome to end his exile as early as possible and return to the motherland also as to make his contributions to safeguarding national unity and enhancing ethnic fraternity, and do something useful for the welfare and happiness of the Tibetan people," the spokesman said.*

#### UN Rejects Tibet Resolution; China accused of "Threats" in UN

TIN News Update / 22 August, 1993

The UN has voted decisively against discussing human rights in Tibet as arrests and small protests continue in the Tibetan capital.

During the UN debate a UN expert publicly alleged that the Chinese Government had used threats to try to stop her discussing the Tibet issue.

In Lhasa at least two more pro-independence demonstrations and a series of arrests were reported this week as groups of US Congressmen flocked into the city, apparently to enjoy an officially promoted festival of Tibetan opera.

In an incident on 17th August a group of four nuns were arrested by plainclothes police after they ran around the main temple in Lhasa. Two monks are said to have been arrested the following day after an attempted protest.

Chinese media presented the current visit to Lhasa by US Senator Richard Shelby and an entourage of up to 20 colleagues as "attendance at the traditional Tibetan festival".

Shelby met the Tibetan Governor in Lhasa on 19th August, and another US delegation, led by Congressman Max Baucus, is due in Lhasa today, 22nd August.

The reasons for their visits are unknown, but they have led to big clean-up campaigns by the Chinese authorities in Lhasa, with the poor and monks being evicted from the main streets during the visit, and continuing arrests of activists.

#### Tibet Resolution Rejected

A resolution expressing concern about human rights in Tibet was rejected on Friday 20th August by an influential UN body, the Sub-Commission on Human Rights, in its annual meeting in Geneva.

In a secret ballot the 26 members of the Sub-Commission decided by 17 votes to 6, with 2 abstentions, to take no action on the Tibet resolution, with members arguing that the proposal constituted a political attack on China's territorial integrity and was thus out of order.

The abortive resolution had been mildly worded, focussing on the need to allow UN officials to investigate reports of abuses within Tibet. It made no reference to self-determination or to political claims by Tibetans.

The 17 experts on the Sub-Commission who blocked the Tibet resolution were led by the Moroccan expert, Mrs Halima Warzazi, with support from the experts nominated by Cuba and Nigeria, arguing that the resolution was politically motivated.

China's Ambassador described the decision as "a triumph of justice", and China's official news agency said that the vote showed that the Western-led attack on China over Tibet was "extremely unpopular".

The vote, which represents a significant increase in pro-Chinese support in the UN since a similar resolution on Tibet was passed by the Sub-Commission two years ago, is a major set-back for the pro-Tibet lobby in the UN. All the Latin American experts, who in the past had abstained or supported a Tibet resolution, are believed to have voted in support of China yesterday.

The failure of today's resolution reflects deep distrust amongst developing and southern countries of support for the Tibet issue, which is presented by China and often perceived as an issue manipulated by western countries.

The proposers of Friday's resolution were all from the US or Europe.

Exile Tibetans have concentrated most of their efforts on lobbying in the Europe and the US. The Dalai Lama is due to make another visit to the United States next month, his second this year.

#### UN Expert Accuses China of "Threats"

During Friday's UN debate Ms. Claire Palley, a British human rights expert who sits on the Sub-Commission, publicly accused the Chinese Ambassador to the UN of placing "intolerable pressure" on her and other experts. She said that the Ambassador, Jin Yongjian, had made threats in private conversations in an attempt to get her to withdraw support for the Tibet resolution.

Although allegations of pressure applied by countries are frequent it is highly unusual for details to be given or for a country to be named in public.

Mr Jin reportedly threatened Ms. Palley that China would end relations with the Sub-Commission and that all dialogue between the Chinese and the Dalai Lama would be broken off if she tabled the Tibet resolution. He also said that the governments of the experts involved in the resolution would be "held responsible", even though the experts are meant to be independent and do not represent their Governments.

In her speech to the UN on Friday Ms. Palley said the Chinese diplomat told her that in each case these consequences "would be my fault".

A Tibetan exile spokesman said that the extent of Chinese pressure showed Beijing's fear of being criticised. "Although Chinese pressure tactics have managed to prevent passage of the resolution this time, this will not make the problem go away," said Lodi Gyari, leader of the delegation at the UN representing the Tibetan Government in exile.

The Chinese Ambassador described the allegations of threats as "distorted facts" and "inappropriate comments".

#### ***"Dalai Lama's Japan Visit Suddenly Dropped: Tenacious Pressure and 'Threats' from the Chinese Embassy"***

A shortened version of an article from the weekly magazine *Shukan Gendai*, 19th July 1993

*"That the visit to Japan by the Nobel Peace Prizewinner the Dalai Lama should be prevented by pressure from the Chinese embassy ... I feel ashamed to be Japanese. The Chinese government has us in the palm of its hand."*

*Expressing his anger is the researcher and writer on India, Mr. Yamagiwa Moto'o. The Tibetan Buddhist leader the 14th Dalai Lama was due to visit Japan from 14th-20th July but the visit was dropped at the last moment. The general secretary of the Dalai Lama's welcoming committee, Director of the Social Environment Research Institute Tsutsui Mitsuaki, had this to say about the incident:*

*"There was very strong pressure from the Chinese government. Shitenno Temple in Osaka agreed to act as sponsor for the visa application and an official invitation had been sent to His Holiness, but the temple contacted us in May to say that they no longer wished to act as sponsor."*

*The reason they gave was that "We have had a very strong representation from the Chinese consulate in Osaka for the invitation not to proceed and we wish to postpone our involvement." The committee then requested one of its own members, Mr. Watanabe, the principal of Risho University, to become the sponsor. Mr. Watanabe had planned to confer an honorary doctorate on His Holiness during the visit.*

*However, "A secretary from the Chinese embassy came to the university and told us that they wished us to withdraw our application ..." and the attempt failed. Apparently such 'threats' as: "Well, you have an exchange student program and other friendly relations...." were used.*

*The Dalai Lama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989 and in February this year joined with several other prizewinners in Bangkok to appeal for the release of Aung San Suu Kyi. He also attended the United Nations Conference on Human Rights in June. China also attempted to intervene to prevent the Dalai Lama's participation in these events.*

*When I telephoned the embassy to get the true story, I was told, "Talk to the political section about that." "Talk to public relations about that." "Talk to ..." and pushed from section to section five times.*

## **Texts on History of Sino-Tibetan Negotiations**

### **Chinese View of the 1984 Negotiations**

Translation of *Dialogue with Three Representatives of the Dalai Lama*, an article from *Solidarity of Nationalities Magazine*, (Beijing), No. 12, 1984. The article was written in Chinese by Yang Jingren, a former Vice-Chairman of the Central Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Chairman of the Central Nationalities Affairs Commission (TIN ref: Doc 14IXWIL).

#### ***Dialogue with Three Representatives of the Dalai Lama***

By Yang Jingren  
27th November 1984

*On October 21st three representatives of the Dalai Lama arrived in Beijing from India. They were: Tuden Nanjia (Thupten Namgyal), Pinsuo Zhaxi (Phuntsog Tashi Takla) and Luozhi Jiacun (Lodro Gyaltsen). After their arrival, the first thing they did was express the desire to enter into dialogue with the Central Government and to build links in order that*

*we both establish a better understanding of each other. We welcome this gesture, as the Central Government is very concerned about the Dalai Lama and the Tibetans abroad.*

*The Dalai Lama has expressed many times his desire for improvement in relations with the Central Government and his willingness to return to live with the one billion. He believes that the present policy of the Central Government is sensible and that the leaders are reliable and trustworthy. We welcome this.*

*Since 1978 the Dalai Lama has sent people to our country on fact-finding delegations to make contact with us and generally observe [conditions]. With these kinds of visits and the subsequent exchange of ideas there has been a mutual deepening of understanding. These have been beneficial for both sides. During our talks we pointed out that we were practising a policy in Tibet of caution and stability.*



In 1959 we were disturbed by left wing ideology, but this was not the real cause of the Dalai Lama's departure from Tibet. It has now been some years since then and we all agree with what our General Secretary Hu Yaobang said, "Let us not always stick to that part of history. Try to forget it".

Because the talks between us have been very useful in the past few years, there have been many Tibetan brothers coming from abroad to visit their friends and relatives in the country. With their own eyes they were able to see the developments and changes in their homeland. In this way they were able to know about the policy of the Central Government and many returned (abroad), able to tell the true facts about their country. This has done much for the sake of our country's unity and for national solidarity. At the same time there are lots of Tibetan brothers coming back to our country to settle down. Their work and welfare were of great concern to the people's government and they were well looked after. They are participating in the construction of their homeland and of the country generally.

In these recent years our country has achieved a new situation of peaceful solidarity and prosperous development, this includes Tibet. The whole area has undergone great change and development which is very inspirational.

The Dalai Lama has expressed many times his desire to return to see what is going on. This time he asked his three representatives to express this sentiment once again to the Central Government. He hopes to visit and look around the country in 1985. We welcome him. The leaders and comrades of the Central Government have also expressed many times their desire to welcome the Dalai Lama back. He is most welcome to return and settle down or simply to come back, look around and then leave again.

If he is not willing to come back now and wishes to stay abroad to observe for some more years, then that is also alright.

General Secretary Hu Yaobang pointed out clearly that whenever the Dalai Lama returns he must make a statement. That is to say, he must make clear the purpose of his return and show that he has a good attitude. If the Dalai Lama's return to the country is beneficial to the process of unification and to the solidarity of the nationalities, then he is welcome to travel wherever he wants to go to observe what is going on. His safety will be guaranteed - there is no question about this.

What we need to point out though is that while the Dalai Lama has sent representatives to contact people from the Central Government to express his wish to improve relations, at the same time he is still following those abroad who are engaged in activities in support of Tibet's independence. Right up until this year they celebrate the 10th March as the so-called "Tibetan Uprising Day". Some people declare that the seventeen point agreement, made in 1951, was signed under pressure. Furthermore the flames of ignorance are fanned amongst the Tibetan brothers abroad, encouraging them to demonstrate in front of our country's Embassies abroad. It is apparent that these words and actions, that are wrong, are against what the Dalai Lama has repeatedly expressed; that is, his desire to improve relations with the Central Government.

We need to stress clearly: whoever plans for an 'Independent Tibet', plans to divide our united motherland, and whoever tries to restore feudalism will never succeed.

The Tibetan people and all nationalities across the country will never agree at any time or in any circumstances to this, because this does not tally with history or actuality. This is against the interests of every one of the nationalities of the motherland, including the Tibetan people.

The Central Government's policy towards the Dalai Lama and his followers is very clear. General Secretary Hu Yaobang, in 1981, when he received Jialou Dunzhu (Gyalo Thondup), explained the five points that make up this policy. These directives will not change and, to underline them once more, they are:

First, China has now entered a new era of political stability, economic prosperity and friendly relations among all the nationalities. These trends will not change for a long time to come. Since the Dalai Lama and his entourage are "intelligent" they should believe in what the new era brings. If they don't, they can wait and see.

Second, the Dalai Lama and those appointed by him to represent him at talks must be "sincere"; they must not "bargain like businessmen". On China's part, there will be no punishment of those Tibetans who took part in the 1959 Rebellion.

Third, "We sincerely welcome back the Dalai Lama and his entourage" to permanently settle down in China; for, once returned, the Dalai Lama can promote national unity, improve relations among the nationalities and accelerate the process of the four modernisations.

Fourth, if and when he returns to China his political and economic privileges will be those of pre-1959. He will be appointed as Vice-President of the National People's Congress as well as Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. He emphasises that neither the Dalai Lama nor his entourage need worry about their living conditions or employment, as China would guarantee their privileges.

Fifth, the Dalai Lama could decide when he wanted to return, and say what he wanted to at the time. China would organise a grand reception and hold a press conference.

## 1987 Letter from Chinese Government to Dharamsala

As far as is known there has only been one written document sent by the Chinese state to the Tibetan administration in Northern India. This is the infamous letter of October 1987 sent to the Dalai Lama's elder brother and "personal emissary", Gyalo Thondup, by Yan Mingfu, then head of the United Front.

Yan Mingfu is nowadays seen as a moderate, mainly because of his apparent opposition to the crushing of the student uprising in Beijing in 1989. However, the 1987 letter is aggressive and uncompromising in tone, expressing the official Chinese anger at the Dalai Lama's decision to go to Washington where he presented his "Five Point Peace Plan". The initiative took the Tibet issue into the international arena for the first time in several decades, and the Chinese response set off major demonstrations in Tibet.

In the letter Yan Mingfu accuses the Dalai Lama directly of inciting the unrest in Tibet. But the objective of the letter, if it is genuine, appears to have been to drive a public rift between the Dalai Lama and his brother. In the letter Yan praises Gyalo Thondup extensively for having visited Beijing and renounced any pursuit of independence.

The text published here is an unauthorised and unverified translation from an unseen Tibetan version although the original would presumably have been in Chinese. TIN has not seen a copy of the original and so has not been able to check the authenticity of this translation. This text was circulated amongst Tibetan exiles in the West by an anonymous source in the US shortly after the Dalai Lama made his controversial "Strasbourg Proposal" of 1988 in which he came close to renouncing independence, as demanded by the letter.

The source that released the letter may have wished to discredit Gyalo Thondup amongst other exiles by publicising Yan's allegations that Thondup had already given up the claim to independence. Attached to the translation of the Yan Mingfu letter was an anonymous note reading "The enclosed Tibetan document, being the only written communication the Chinese Government has made to the Tibetan Government in Dharamsala, is of much significance to all Tibetans as well as to everyone concerned about the future of Tibet and the Tibetan people."

**Memorandum sent by Yan Mingfu, Director-in-Chief of the United Front Office of the Central Government of China, to the Refugee Government through Mr. Gyalpo Dhondup.**

October 17, 1987

Translation [from the Tibetan]

Mr. Gyalpo Dhondup, it has been 2 weeks since you came to Beijing. You have on two occasions had discussions with our Comrades of the 2nd District. I have come to know about the subject of your discussions. Today, I would like to talk with you regarding some matters once again.

1. Arriving in the United States on September 19, 1987, the Dalai Lama on the 21st, outlined before the United States Congressional Human Rights' Caucus a high-sounding "5-Point Plan" clearly advocating "Tibetan Independence". To coincide with this and provoked by the Dalai's separatist act and backing, a small number of separatists deliberately caused the disturbances in Lhasa on September 27 and October 1 (1987).

As far as the Dalai Lama's activities and the Lhasa disturbances are concerned, the Central Government considers them to be very serious. The editorial published in the People's Daily newspaper clearly brought out the Central Government's views on the recent disturbances and its firm stand on the issue. It pointed out that "the disturbances in Lhasa, which were caused by a few separatists at the instigation and mobilisation of the Dalai's clique, is a serious political matter. By destroying the unification of the Motherland and the atmosphere of tranquillity and well-being in Tibet, the aim of the separatists is to provide backing to the Dalai's criminal activities abroad of splitting the Motherland."

Exercising our firm determination towards the situation, we have accomplished quelling the disturbances. The ringleaders and other criminals involved will be punished according to law. On the basic issues concerning the unification of the Motherland and the tranquillity and well-being of Tibet, we will never be ambiguous and vague. We will never allow the Dalai Lama to engage in activities of destroying the tranquillity and well-being of Tibet and of splitting the Motherland.

It must be pointed out that our method of handling the Lhasa disturbances was carried out without any choice on our part but it was one of restraint. We hope that such incidents of turmoil will not occur again. Before the Dalai Lama's visit to the United States, we had suggested through you, Mr. Gyalpo Dhondup, that the Dalai Lama should conduct his affairs very carefully. You (Gyalpo Dhondup) had even told us that the visit had no political motives. But, between that and the actual fact there was a great difference. The Dalai Lama's clique strongly spoke in favour of "Tibetan Independence" and, because of foreign backing, sought to propagate their separatist movement by taking advantage of our freedom of travel policy for Tibetan brothers and sisters living abroad and sending people into the country to mobilise instigators and set up secret organisations. Based on the fact that the Dalai Lama is a political refugee, the Lhasa disturbances were the product of his activities to split the Motherland. Therefore, the full responsibility of the present problem rests with the Dalai Lama's clique and the few separatists.

2. Ever since the Dalai Lama re-established contact with the Central Government in 1979, the Central Government had enthusiastically done everything it can to improve its relations with the Dalai Lama. Not only have leading comrades of the Central Government met with the visitors and representatives sent by the Dalai Lama, but they have also answered, in all sincerity and responsibility, the questions posed to them by the visitors and representatives. The Central Government had expressed its confidence and hope in the Dalai Lama and had extended its welcome to his return to the Motherland so as to gain his support for the

unification of the Motherland and the unity among the nationalities. What is regretful is that the Dalai Lama regarded the genuine, sincere hopes and gestures of the Central Government as of no significance. Aside from making no changes to correct his mistakes, he has raised his fists even higher in continuing to engage in activities of separating the Motherland.

We have stated on many occasions that earlier events in Tibet had undergone the consequences of the "left" [Cultural Revolution] and that careful measures have been taken to rectify the situation. In recent times, great improvements have been made in Tibet's economy, culture and education. We have also adopted various racial and religious policies that have exceeded previous expectations. The Central Government has given huge amounts of financial and material resources for Tibet's development. Nowadays, the Tibetan people are living well and working diligently. This fact will be acknowledged by anyone who is objective and honest. A regretful thing is that the Dalai Lama, ignoring the obvious changes that have taken place in Tibet and wildly criticising the Central Government's Tibet policy, is making false statements and cynical remarks as to instil fear in the minds of people just hearing the terms "military occupation and racial discrimination." In this regard, we are left with no alternative but to suspect whether or not the Dalai Lama, due to his stubborn adherence to old ideologies, is engaging in criminal activities of separating the Motherland either because of his genuine concern for the happiness of the Tibetan people or for his own "personal status" and the self-interests of some of the people surrounding him.

For his own self-interest, the Dalai Lama has created ill-feelings between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples by instigating and planning the violent unrest in Lhasa and has destroyed the tranquillity, peace and well-being of the lives of the various nationalities residing in the city of Lhasa. This is incompatible with the ubiquitous Buddhist slogan "Tranquillity and peace; abandonment of sin, attainment of merit." In the press conference held on October 7, 1987, the Dalai Lama could not but admit that his visit to the United States was "indeed, one cause" of the unrest in Lhasa. Such behaviour on the part of the Dalai Lama is to destroy his own reputation.

3. How we should proceed in the future depends entirely on the Dalai Lama's clique. If the Dalai Lama continues to engage in acts of separating the Motherland, then we will have no choice but to adopt measures more drastic than we have done before. If the consequences of his separatists acts should adversely affect the reforms in Tibet, its open-door policy, its productivity and the livelihood of the Tibetan people, the Dalai Lama must bear the responsibility of the eventualities.

Some people, with old, stubborn minds, are harbouring ideas of creating more unrest by dramatising their separatist movement with violent, terrorist acts of arson, poisoning and murder. These people are making a wrong assessment of the situation. The number of people persisting in separating the Motherland and making demands for "Tibetan Independence" is very small. The majority of the Tibetan people recognise the special, inherent advantages of socialism. Being the beneficiaries of the advantages of the Communist Party's policies adopted after the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee and following in their footsteps, it is not possible for the Tibetan people to destroy their own happiness and livelihood. If violence is used in demonstrations for "Tibetan Independence" and crafty schemes are employed, the peoples of China's various nationalities, including the Tibetan nationality, will spit them (perpetrators) out and make their heads to split and their brains and blood to spill out.

The Dalai Lama's clique, counting on foreign support, is hoping to promote their separatist movement. It is a mistake to assume that, by placing their hopes on foreigners to get



involved in the Tibetan issue and interfere in the internal affairs of the Middle Kingdom, creating unrest in Lhasa by mobilising and bribing a few people and lobbying in the United Nations to muster a variety of supporters to oppose China, they can thereby force the blockade of China's progress and dream of a manifestly imminent "Tibetan Independence". Our stand on the issue is very clear. To cause harm to the sovereign integrity of China is not permitted. Foreign interference in the internal affairs of China is not permitted. It is a mistake for the United States Congress to have given unconditional support to the Dalai Lama's statements aimed at separating the Motherland. This is in violation of the basic principles of the Shanghai Accords and the communique regarding the establishment of Sino-US relations. There are some US Congressmen who are among such people abroad (supporting the Dalai Lama). These people, with such high-handed attitude, are openly interfering in the internal affairs of our nation. The peoples of our nation have raised strong objections to their vicious behaviour. Their cunning schemes will never succeed. In actual fact, after the disturbances in Lhasa, the Governments of the United States, India and France have publicly stated that Tibet is an integral and inseparable part of China. Some foreign embassy officials in Beijing have said that no nation will support "Tibetan Independence". Because of foreign backing, if they (Dalai Lama's clique) should such as gamble on using violence and destruction in their separatist movement, it will only be counter-productive. Nothing will be achieved apart from being left without a single friend in the United Nations and arousing the intense anger of the peoples of various nationalities of China, including the people of the Tibetan nationality. On issues concerning the full sovereignty, the People's Republic of China can neither be influenced by any United Nations' resolutions nor, most surely, be made to submit to foreign pressure. We, the Communist Party of China and the Central People's Government, are firmly resolved in supporting the national sovereignty and the unification of the Motherland. We will never tolerate anyone to harm the sovereignty of our nation or to destroy the unification of the Motherland. For the understanding of all those separatists who are scheming to mobilize acts of unrest and destruction, we have just one response to make, and that is: we shall be consolidating our support for the unification and peace of our nation by executing the policies adopted earlier and strengthening the individual democratic rights of the people.

*It is my hope that you, Mr. Gyalo Dhondup, will tell the Dalai Lama not to misjudge the situation and engage in activities which are pleasing to enemies, woeful to friends and detrimental to the basic interests of the peoples of the nation's various nationalities.*

4. Overlooking the unchanged situation of such serious problems, we still hope that the Dalai Lama will honour the interests of the Tibetan people and act wisely. The policy announced on behalf of the Central Government by comrades of the Central Government is unanimous. This is the established policy of the Central Government and is not the opinion of any one individual. The essence of this policy is that Tibet is an integral part of the Motherland; that you (the Dalai Lama and his clique) must give up demanding "Independence"; that if these conditions are not accepted, then there are no grounds, whatsoever, for any negotiations.

*To clarify this once again: there is no change in the Central Government's set conditions on the Dalai Lama; there is no change in the "5 conditions" (for his return to China); whether now or in the future, having given his support to the unification of the Motherland and the unity of the nationalities, we would like to extend our welcome to the Dalai Lama's contribution to the socialist reconstruction of the Motherland and to his return to the Motherland. Regarding the uprising of 1959, you all did not behave well. On our part, we have stated that all of us should forget that particular portion of history and let bygones be bygones. From now on, if the Dalai Lama's clique refrains from engaging in separatist acts, we will abide by the basic*

*principles of the policies established earlier by the Central Government.*

5. Since 1979, Mr. Gyalo Dhondup has visited Beijing several times. We would like to praise him for the enthusiastic spirit in which he had met with the Central Government. On this visit, Mr. Gyalo Dhondup told us many times that he is against making demands for "Tibetan Independence"; that he is opposed to the separation of China and Tibet; and that he is against the instigation of the disturbances in Lhasa. The gist of Mr. Gyalo Dhondup's earlier statement is that, based on his 10 years' experience, the destination of the so-called "Tibetan Independence" is unattainable; that after establishing good relations with the Central Government and everyone returning to the Motherland, the sole objective is to achieve the rapid development of the Tibetan race by performing good, productive work for the benefit of the Tibetan nationality. We would like to commend him for this statement. Since we are able to fully assess the effectiveness of Mr. Gyalo Dhondup's influence on the Dalai Lama, we have today agreed to his coming to Beijing. Because of Mr. Gyalo Dhondup's genuine attitude in honouring the unification of the Motherland and the interests of the Tibetan people, we wish to request him, by virtue of his firm support for the unification of the Motherland and the unity of the nationalities, to enable the Dalai Lama to come to the great family of the Motherland as soon as possible.

#### **Dalai Lama Publishes Letters To Deng**

4 September, 1993

In an unexpected development today, 4th September, the exiled Tibetan leader, the Dalai Lama, published copies of his correspondence with Deng Xiaoping, the premier Chinese leader.

The move could indicate that talks with the Chinese, which reached delegation level in July 1993 for the first time in nearly ten years, are once again close to stalemate.

The surprise publication may also mean that the Dalai Lama is hoping to accelerate the pace and tone of the talks. The more recent of the 3 letters he has published reveal an unusually confident and assertive tone in the Lama's negotiating stance, closer to his typical style with Tibetans than his more self-effacing presentation in front of westerners. In particular he directly challenges the Chinese to make a positive initiative in the talks, which have now gone on for 14 years.

"If China wants Tibet to stay in China, then China must create the necessary conditions for this," says the exiled leader:

*The time has come now for the Chinese to show the way for Tibet and China to live together in friendship. A detailed step by step outline regarding Tibet's basic status should be spelt out.*

The correspondence shows an unprecedented continuity in the Lama's political thinking since the 1950s, when he signed and ratified a treaty accepting Tibet as part of China and was full of praise for Mao Tseung. He justifies that idealistic view of Mao, and shows that he has always been ready to accept far less than independence for Tibet if China offered "full internal freedoms". The letters make it clear that this position is essentially unchanged, despite his public rhetoric - but they are careful to avoid any specific unconditional renunciation of the claim to independence.

#### **Breach of Secrecy Pact**

The decision to publish the letters runs directly in the face of undertakings believed to have been given by the Tibetan exiles to Beijing last year, when the Dalai Lama's elder brother, Gyalo Thondup, visited the Chinese capital.



Thondup returned to India in June 1992 with a list of Beijing's ten basic requests, of which the ninth was a request "to keep all discussions confidential". The Tibetan exile Assembly later agreed to abide by this condition and the Dalai Lama's decision to discard the Chinese demand for secrecy is likely to infuriate Beijing.

His decision to go public comes only one month after the exile Tibetan Government, which is headed by the Dalai Lama, issued their most positive assessment in years of contacts with the Chinese, describing the July talks as "frank and cordial".

The Tibetans now appear to have evidence that the talks were a delaying or diversionary tactic by Beijing, designed to impress international opinion while they continue to move Chinese migrants into Tibet. The Chinese Ambassador to India issued a hardline statement on 26th August accusing the Tibetan leader of using language that favoured independence, following a similar statement issued by the Foreign Ministry in Beijing the day before.

On 29th August Dharamsalā released information which they obtained from an unnamed source in Tibet claiming that a high-level meeting of United Front officials in Wenjiang, Sichuan, on 12th May this year decided to organise the transfer of Chinese population into Tibet as a policy instrument to neutralise dissent. The Dalai Lama and many Tibetans regard the threat of population transfer of Chinese into Tibet as the most serious threat to their cultural survival, and the report of the alleged Wenjiang meeting decision may have prompted the Dalai Lama to publish the letters.

The Dalai Lama in a statement explaining the release of the letters says of the Wenjiang meeting that the Chinese government "must unequivocally reverse this decision, not only in words, but in practice".

#### Reasons For Publishing

He says that he is releasing the letters to refute suggestions by Beijing that the Tibetans have shifted position or delayed negotiations.

*My position over the years has been consistent, but the Chinese government statements create confusion by suggesting that the Chinese government is always open to negotiations but that Tibetans are not,*

he says. The three letters he has published, which date from 1981 and 1992, show that the Dalai Lama has pursued a conciliatory line with Beijing, and make it clear that for at least 13 years he has avoided if not renounced the question of independence for Tibet. The revelations do therefore support his contention that he has always accepted the 1979 pre-condition that he avoid the question of independence, showing that the Chinese authorities have delayed talks for over a decade. The letters may therefore cause embarrassment to Beijing.

They could also embarrass the Dalai Lama. The 1981 letter begins with fulsome praise of the Communist system and from a western point of view is fawning in tone. "I was pleased with the discussions I had with Chairman Mao on ideology and the policy towards nationalities", says the Lama. "If that same ideology and policy were implemented it would have brought much admiration and happiness," he says, in clear continuity with his 1950s correspondence with Mao.

The letter makes only brief reference to the period after 1959, describing "the developments during the past two decades" as "a lapse in economic and educational

progress". Dharamsalā officials publicly use terms such as genocide or atrocity to describe events of this period.

#### 1981 Praise for Mao, 1992 Explanation

The 1981 letter avoids any claim for Tibet's status and focusses instead on pragmatic issues: "I agree with and believe in the Communist ideology ... If the Tibetan people's identity is preserved and if they are genuinely happy, there is no reason to complain," it says.

He does not explicitly renounce independence but makes no claims of any kind, and at one point implies that the issue of national status is secondary to humanitarian considerations:

*I remain committed to contribute to the welfare of all human beings and in particular the poor and the weak ... without making any distinction based on national boundaries.*

The 1992 letters, to which were attached a long note on the Lama's own view of the history of the negotiations, present a dramatic contrast in tone to the 1981 letter, being assertive in style and free of ambiguity or flattery. But in essence they maintain a consistent position of readiness to compromise.

In the 1992 *Note* the Dalai Lama explains that his 1981 praise for Mao was based in part on repeated undertakings by Mao and Zhou Enlai that the Chinese presence in Tibet was temporary.

*Chairman Mao Zedong, in particular, told me on several occasions that the Chinese were in Tibet only to help Tibet harness its natural resources and use them for the development of the country; General Zhang Jingwu and General Fan Ming were in Tibet to help me and the people of Tibet, and not to rule Tibetan government and people, and that all Chinese officials in Tibet were there to help me and to be withdrawn when Tibet had progressed,*

writes the Dalai Lama. The *Note* refers baldly to the use of "unthinkable brutal force to impose communism" in Eastern Tibet during the 1950s - something not mentioned in the earlier letter - but it does not discuss the alleged atrocities in Tibet after 1959. Of the events of the Cultural Revolution the Dalai Lama writes only that at that time "it was, in fact, not even possible to identify a leader with whom we could talk."

The 1992 *Note* states categorically that in the 1950s the Dalai Lama was concerned with the practical autonomy of Tibet, not in its independence. "The Chinese leaders had promised to establish Tibet as an autonomous region with full internal freedoms," he says with apparent approval. That policy appears to be still his main position, and he implies in the *Note* a continued willingness to accept a solution which is short of independence. He wrote to Deng:

*If we Tibetans obtain our basic rights to our satisfaction then we are not incapable of seeing the possible advantages of living with the Chinese.*

#### No Concession On Historical Status

Although the publication of the letters may represent a moral victory for the Tibetan leader in international eyes, showing his apparent moderation and patience, from the Chinese point of view the letters do reveal substantial obstacles to negotiation. In his 1992 *Note* the Dalai Lama refuses point blank Chinese demands that he withdraw the claim that Tibet was independent in the past. But he is careful to avoid saying if this independence existed at the time of invasion, saying of the modern period only that Tibet had "a unique position".

He also makes it clear that he considers that the Tibetans have the right to adjudicate on their status, a position which implies that they are at present a sovereign entity. "If ... a clear outline [of a way for Tibet and China to live together] is given ... we Tibetans can then make a decision whether to live with China or not," he writes.

The Dalai Lama, in his statement explaining the publication of the letters, also repeats a demand which is not mentioned in the letters to Deng: "I have always emphasised that any negotiations must comprise the whole of Tibet, not just the area which China calls the 'Tibet Autonomous Region.'"

The claim to increase autonomy and to extend it to cover a much larger area may prove problematic for the Chinese, but the Dalai Lama points out that Deng had told the Tibetans in a famous statement in 1979 that 'except for the independence of Tibet, all other questions can be negotiated'. Deng's statement was repeated by the Chinese Foreign Ministry on 25th August this year.

#### **Dalai Lama's Statement 4th September 1993**

Press release issued by the London Office of Tibet on 4th September 1993.

*It is once again necessary for me to state clearly what my position is with respect to the future of Tibet. The problem of Tibet is not the question of the Dalai Lama's return and status. It is the problem of the rights and freedoms of the six million Tibetans in Tibet. I am convinced that this question can only be solved through negotiations. My position over the years has been consistent, but the Chinese government statements create confusion by suggesting that the Chinese government is always open to negotiations but that Tibetans are not. One such statement, made by a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman on 25 August 1993, repeats the position first conveyed to my emissary by Mr. Deng Xiaoping in 1979, namely, that 'except for the independence of Tibet, all other questions can be negotiated.' The statement also states that 'the door to negotiations remains wide open.'*

*For the past 14 years since that position was first stated, I have not only declared my willingness to enter into negotiations but also made a series of proposals which clearly lie within the framework for negotiations proposed by Mr. Deng Xiaoping. The ideas put forward during discussion my representatives held with Chinese officials in Beijing, and later made in the Five Point Peace Plan (1987) and the Strasbourg Proposal (1988), envisage a solution which does not ask for the independence of Tibet. Yet, China has refused to enter into negotiations of any kind or otherwise to seriously discuss any of those proposals or to constructively respond to them. Indeed, the Chinese government has refused to discuss any question of substance, insisting that the only issues to be resolved are those pertaining to my personal return to Tibet, about which it has made a number of public statements. As I have stated again and again, my return is not the issue. The issue is the survival and welfare of the six million Tibetan people and the preservation of our culture and civilization.*

*I have made it clear that negotiations must centre around ways to end China's population transfer policy which threatens the survival of the Tibetan people; the respect for fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms of the Tibetans; the demilitarisation and de-nuclearisation of Tibet; the restoration of control to the Tibetan people of all matters affecting their own affairs; and, the protection of the natural environment. I have always emphasised that any negotiations must comprise the whole of Tibet, not just the area which China calls the 'Tibet Autonomous Region.'*

*I am releasing today the text of my most recent letter and accompanying Note to Mr. Deng Xiaoping and Mr. Jiang Zemin which were delivered to them by my emissaries in Beijing in July 1993, as well as my first letter to Mr. Deng Xiaoping. They show the consistency of my approach and my determined efforts to seek a peaceful, reasonable and just solution, within the framework formulated by Mr. Deng Xiaoping. I have never called for negotiations on the independence of Tibet. There has been no constructive response by China to these letters.*

*I am deeply concerned about Chinese government's intentions with regard to Tibet. Official Chinese statements are aimed at confusing the real issues and delaying any substantial discussion on the problem. While repeating the position that China is prepared to negotiate, the Chinese government continues to seek a 'final solution' to the question of Tibet: the flooding of Tibet with Chinese settlers so as to entirely overpower and assimilate the Tibetan people. This concern is heightened by the revelation last week of a secret meeting held on 12 May in Sichuan, in which a dual strategy was agreed upon by the Chinese authorities in order to suppress Tibetan resistance:*

- to transfer even larger numbers of Chinese into Tibet in order to make it demographically 'impossible for the Tibetans to rise up'; and,

- to manipulate important Tibetan religious persons, to infiltrate religious institutions and to create divisions in the Tibetan movement.

*If the Chinese government is sincere about negotiating a solution to the question of Tibet, it must unequivocally reverse this decision, not only in words, but in practice. I call on the Chinese government to start negotiations without delay and without preconditions.*

September 4, 1993

#### **Dalai Lama's 1981 Letter to Deng** Original in Tibetan

March 23, 1981

Mr. Deng Xiaoping  
Chinese Communist Party  
Central Committee  
Beijing  
CHINA

Your Excellency,

*I agree with and believe in the Communist ideology which seeks the well being of human beings in general and the proletariat particular, and the Lenin's policy of the equality of nationalities. Similarly, I was pleased with the discussions I had with Chairman Mao on ideology and the policy towards nationalities. If that same ideology and policy were implemented it would have brought much admiration and happiness. However, if one is to make a general comment on the developments during the past two decades, there has been a lapse in economic and educational progress, the basis of human happiness. Moreover, on account of the hardships caused by the unbearable disruptions, there has been a loss of trust between the Party and the masses, between the officials and the masses, among the officials themselves, and also the masses themselves. By deceiving one another through false assumptions and misrepresentations there has been, in reality, a great lapse and delay in achieving the real goals. Now, signs of dissatisfaction are naturally emerging from all directions and these are clear indications that the objectives have not been fulfilled.*

To take the case of the situation in Tibet, it is regrettable that some Tibetan officials, who lack the wisdom and competence required for promoting basic human happiness and the short and long term welfare of their own people, indulge in flattering Chinese officials and, collaborate with these Chinese officials who know nothing about Tibetans and work simply for their temporary fame indulging in fabricating impressive reports. In reality, the Tibetan people have not only undergone immeasurable sufferings, but large numbers have also unnecessarily lost their lives. Besides, during the Cultural Revolution, there [was] immense destruction of Tibet's ancient cultural heritage. All these regrettable events present a brief impression of the past.

Now, taking into account the experience of the past mistakes, there is a new policy of Seeking Truth from Fact and a policy of modernization. With regard to the Tibetan issue, I am pleased and I applaud Comrade Hu Yaobang's efforts to make every possible attempt to right the wrongs by frankly admitting the past mistakes after his visit to Lhasa.

As you are aware, during the 20 years, we Tibetans abroad, apart from trying to preserve our national identity and traditional values, have been educating our youth to enable them to decide their future through a knowledge of right conduct, justice and democratic principles towards building a better Tibetan community.

In brief, considering the fact that we are living in foreign countries other than our own, we can be proud of our achievements in the history among the refugees in the world. On the political front, we have always pursued the path of truth and justice in our struggle for the legitimate rights of the Tibetan people. We have never indulged in distortions, exaggerations and criticism of the Chinese people. Neither have we harbored any ill-will towards them. Above all, we have always held to our position of truth and justice without siding with any of the international political power blocks.

In early 1979, at your invitation, Gyalo Thondup visited China. Through him you had sent a message saying that we should keep in contact with each other. You had also invited us to send fact finding delegations to Tibet. Therefore, the three fact-finding delegations have been able to find out both the positive and negative aspects of the situation in Tibet. If the Tibetan people's identity is preserved and if they are genuinely happy, there is no reason to complain. However, in reality over 90% of the Tibetans are suffering both mentally and physically, and are living in deep sorrow. These sad conditions had not been brought about by natural disasters, but by human actions. Therefore, genuine efforts must be made to solve the problem in accordance with the existing realities in a reasonable way.

In order to do this, we must improve the relationship between China and Tibet as well as between Tibetans in and outside Tibet. With truth and equality as our foundation, we must try to develop friendship between Tibetans and Chinese in future through better understanding. Time has come to apply our common wisdom in a spirit of tolerance and broadmindedness to achieve genuine happiness for the Tibetan people with a sense of urgency. On my part, I remain committed to contribute to the welfare of all human beings and in particular the poor and the weak to the best of my ability without making any distinction based on national boundaries.

I hope you will let me know your views on the foregoing points.

With the assurance of my highest regards and esteem,

From India,

Dalai Lama

## Dalai Lama's 1992 Letter to Deng

Original Text: Tibetan

September 11, 1992

Mr. Deng Xiaoping  
Chinese Communist Party  
Central Committee  
Beijing  
CHINA

Dear Mr. Deng Xiaoping,

I am pleased that direct contact has once again been established between us. I hope that this will lead to an improvement of relations and the development of mutual understanding and trust.

I have been informed of the discussion Mr. Ding Guangen had with Gyalo Thondup on June 22, 1992, and the position of the Government of China concerning negotiations for a solution to the Tibetan question. I am disappointed with the hard and inflexible position conveyed by Mr. Ding Guangen, particularly the emphasis on pre-conditions for negotiations.

However, I remain committed to the belief that our problems can be solved only through negotiations, held in an atmosphere of sincerity and openness, for the benefit of both the Tibetan and Chinese people. To make this possible, neither side should put up obstacles, and neither side should therefore, state pre-conditions.

For meaningful negotiations to take place it is essential to have mutual trust. Therefore, in order to create trust, I believe it is important for the leaders and people of China to know of the endeavours I have made so far. My three representatives carry with them a letter from me, accompanied by a detailed note of views and my efforts through the years to promote negotiations in the best interest of the Tibetan and Chinese people. They will answer and discuss any questions and points you wish to raise. It is my hope that through these renewed discussions we will find a way that will lead us to negotiations.

On my part, I have put forward many ideas to solve our problem. I believe that it is now time for the Chinese government to make a genuinely meaningful proposal if you wish to see Tibet and China live together in peace. I, therefore, sincerely hope that you will respond in a spirit of openness and friendship.

Yours sincerely,

(copied to "Mr. Zemin" - presumably an error for Jiang Zemin, Party General Secretary)

## Accompanying Note: Dalai Lama on History of Negotiations

**Note accompanying His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Letter to Mr. Deng Xiaoping and Mr. Jiang Zemin, General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, September 11, 1992.**

On June 22, Mr. Ding Guangen, head of the United Front Works Department of CCP Central Committee, met with Mr. Gyalo Thondup in Beijing and restated the assurance given by Mr. Deng Xiaoping to Mr. Gyalo Thondup in 1979 that the Chinese government was willing to discuss and resolve any issue with us except total independence. Mr. Ding Guangen also said that, in the Chinese government's view, "the Dalai Lama is continuing with independence activities," but the Chinese government was willing to immediately start negotiations as soon as I give up the independence of Tibet. This position, repeatedly stated in the past by the Chinese government, shows that the Chinese leadership still does not understand my ideas regarding the Tibetan-Chinese



relationship. Therefore, I take this opportunity to clarify my position through this note.

1. It is an established fact that Tibet and China existed as separate countries in the past. However, as a result of misrepresentations of Tibet's unique relations with the Mongol and the Manchu Emperors, disputes arose between Tibet and the Kuomintang and the present Chinese government. The fact that the Chinese government found it necessary to conclude a '17-Point Agreement' with the Tibetan government in 1951 clearly shows the Chinese government's acknowledgement of Tibet's unique positions.

2. When I visited Beijing in 1954, I had the impression that most of the Communist party leaders I met there were honest, straightforward and open-minded. Chairman Mao Zedong, in particular, told me on several occasions that the Chinese were in Tibet only to help Tibet harness its natural resources and use them for the development of the country; General Zhang Jingwu and General Fan Ming, were in Tibet to help me and the people of Tibet, and not to rule Tibetan government and people, and that all Chinese officials in Tibet were there to help me and to be withdrawn when Tibet had progressed. Any Chinese official who did not act accordingly would be sent back to China. Chairman Mao went on to say that he had now been decided to establish a 'Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region' instead of the earlier plan to put Tibet under the direct control of the Chinese government through a 'Military-Political Commission'.

At my last meeting with Chairman Mao, before I left China, he gave me a long explanation about democracy. He said that I must provide leadership and advised me on how to keep in touch with the views of the people. He spoke in a gentle and compassionate manner which was moving and inspiring.

While in Beijing, I told Premier Zhou Enlai that we Tibetans were fully aware of our need to develop politically, socially and economically and that in fact I had already taken steps towards this.

On my return back to Tibet, I told General Zhang Guohua that I had gone to China with doubts and anxiety about the future of my people and country, but had now returned with great hope and optimism and a very positive impression of the Chinese leaders. My innate desire to serve my people especially the poor and the weak, and the prospect of mutual cooperation and friendship between Tibet and China made me feel hopeful and optimistic about Tibet's future development. This was how I felt at that time about the Tibetan-Chinese relationship.

3. When the 'Tibet Autonomous Region Preparatory Committee' was set up in Lhasa in 1959, there was no alternative but to work sincerely with it for the interest and benefit of both parties. However, by then the Chinese authorities had already started to use unthinkable brutal force to impose communism on the Tibetan people of the Kham and Amdo areas, particularly in Lhathang. This increased the resentment of the Tibetans against Chinese politics, leading to open resistance.

I could not believe that Chairman Mao would have approved of such repressive policy because of the promises he had made to me when I was in China. I, therefore, wrote three letters to him explaining the situations and seeking an end to the repression. Regrettably, there was no reply to my letters.

In late 1956, I visited India to attend Buddha Jayanti, the anniversary of the birth of Buddha. At that time, many Tibetans advised me not to return to Tibet, and to continue talks with China from India. I also felt that I should stay in India for the time being. While in India, I met Premier Zhou Enlai and told him how deeply saddened I was by the military repression inflicted upon Tibetans in Kham and

Amdo in the name of 'reforms'. Premier Zhou Enlai said that he regarded these matters as mistakes committed by Chinese officials and that 'reforms' in Tibet would be carried out only in accordance with the wishes of the Tibetan people, and that in fact the Chinese government had already decided to postpone the 'reforms' in Tibet by six years. He then urged me to return to Tibet as soon as possible in order to prevent further outbreaks of unrest.

According to the Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, Premier Zhou Enlai told him that the Chinese government 'did not consider Tibet as [a] province of China. Therefore, they [the Chinese] considered Tibet as an autonomous region which could enjoy autonomy.' Prime Minister Nehru told me that he had assurance from Premier Zhou Enlai that Tibet's autonomy would be respected and, therefore, advised me to make efforts to safeguard it and cooperate with China in bringing about reforms.

By then, the situation in Tibet had become extremely dangerous and desperate. Nevertheless, I decided to return to Tibet to give the Chinese government another opportunity to be able to implement their promises. On my return to Lhasa through Dromo, Gyantse and Shigatse I had many meetings with Tibetan and Chinese officials; I told them that the Chinese were not in Tibet to rule the Tibetans, that the Tibetans were not subjects of China, and that since the Chinese leaders had promised to establish Tibet as an autonomous region with full internal freedoms, we all had to work to make it succeed. I emphasized the point that the leaders of China had assured me that all Chinese personnel in Tibet were there to help us, and that if they behaved otherwise, they would be going against the order of their own government. I believe, I was once again doing my best to promote cooperation between Tibet and China.

4. However, because of the harsh military repression in the Kham and Amdo parts of eastern Tibet, thousands of young and old Tibetans, unable to live under such circumstances, began to arrive in Lhasa as refugees. As a result of these Chinese actions the Tibetan people felt great anxiety and began to lose faith in the promises made by China. This led to greater resentment and a worsening of the situation. Nevertheless, I continued to counsel my people to seek a peaceful solution and to show restraint. At the risk of losing the trust of the Tibetan people I did my best to prevent a break-down of the communications with the Chinese officials in Lhasa. But the situation continued to deteriorate and finally exploded in the tragic events of 1959 which forced me to leave Tibet.

Faced with such a desperate situation, I had no alternative but to appeal to the United Nations. The United Nations, in turn, passed three resolutions on Tibet in 1959, 1961 and 1965, wherein it called for 'the cessation of practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms including their right to self-determination' and asked member states to make all possible efforts towards achieving that purpose.

The Chinese government did not respect the United Nations resolutions. In the meanwhile, the Cultural Revolution started and there was absolutely no opportunity for solving the Tibetan-Chinese problems. It was, in fact, not even possible to identify a leader with whom we could talk.

5. In spite of my unfulfilled hopes and disappointments in dealing with the Chinese government, and since Tibet and China will always remain as neighbours, I am convinced that we must strive to find a way to co-exist in peace and help each other. This, I believe, is possible and worthy of our efforts. With this conviction I said that in my statement to the Tibetan people on March 10, 1971:

In spite of the fact that we Tibetans have to oppose Communist China, I can never bring myself to hate her people. Hatred is not a sign of strength, but of weakness. When Lord Buddha said that hatred cannot be overcome by hatred,

he was not only being spiritual. But His words reflect the practical reality of life. Whatever one achieves through hatred will not last long. On the other hand, hatred will only generate more problems. And for the Tibetan people who are faced with such a tragic situation, hatred will only bring additional depression. Moreover, how can we hate a people who do not know what they are doing? How can we hate millions of Chinese, who have no power and are helplessly led by their leaders? We cannot even hate the Chinese leaders for they have suffered tremendously for their nation and the cause which they believe to be right. I do not believe in hatred, but I do believe, as I have always done, that one day truth and justice will triumph.

In my March 10th statement of 1973, referring to the Chinese claim of Tibetans being made the 'masters of their country' after being 'liberated from the three big feudal lords' and enjoying 'unprecedented progress and happiness,' I stated:

The aim of the struggle of the Tibetans outside Tibet is the attainment of the happiness of the Tibetan people. If the Tibetans in Tibet are truly happy under Chinese rule the there is no reason for us here in exile to argue otherwise.

Again, in my 1979 March 10th statement, I welcomed Deng Xiaoping's statement "to seek truth from facts", to give the Chinese people their long cherished rights, and of the need to acknowledge one's own mistakes and shortcomings. While commending these signs of honesty, progress and openness, I said:

The present Chinese leaders should give up the past dogmatic narrow-mindedness and fear of losing face and recognize the present world situations. They should accept their mistakes, the realities, and the right of all peoples of the human race to equality and happiness. Acceptance of this should not be merely on paper; it should be put into practice. If these are accepted and strictly followed, all problems can be solved with honesty and justice.

With this conviction I renewed my efforts to promote reconciliations and friendship between China and Tibet.

6. In 1979, Mr. Deng Xiaoping invited Mr. Gyalo Thondup to Beijing and told him that apart from the question of total independence all other issues could be discussed and all problems can be resolved. Mr. Deng further told Mr. Thondup that we must keep in contact with each other and that we could send fact-finding delegations to Tibet. This naturally gave us great hope in resolving our problem peacefully and we started sending delegations to Tibet.

On March 23, 1981, I sent a letter to Mr. Deng Xiaoping, in which I said

The three fact-finding delegations have been able to find out both the positive and negative aspects of the situation in Tibet. If the Tibetan people's identity is preserved and if they are genuinely happy, there is no reason to complain. However, in reality over 90% of the Tibetans are suffering both mentally and physically, and are living in deep sorrow. These sad conditions had not been brought about by natural disasters, but by human actions. Therefore, genuine efforts must be made to solve the problem in accordance with the existing realities in a reasonable way.

In order to do this, we must improve the relationship between China and Tibet as well as between Tibetans in and outside Tibet. With truth and equality as our foundation, we must try to develop friendship between Tibetans and Chinese in future through better understanding. Time has come to apply our common wisdom in a spirit of tolerance and broadmindedness to achieve genuine happiness for the Tibetan people with a sense of urgency. On my part, I remain committed to contribute to the welfare of all human beings and in particular the poor and the

weak to the best of my ability without making any distinction based on national boundaries.

I hope you will let me know your views on the foregoing points.

There was no reply to my letter. Instead, on July 28, 1981, General Secretary Hu Yaobang gave Mr. Gyalo Thondup a document, entitled Five-points Policy Towards the Dalai Lama.

This was a surprise and a great disappointment. The reason for our consistent efforts to deal with the Chinese government is to achieve lasting and genuine happiness for six million Tibetans who must live as neighbours of China from generation to generation. However, the Chinese leadership chose to ignore this and, instead, attempted to reduce the whole issue to that of my personal status and the conditions of my return without any willingness to address the real underlying issue.

Nevertheless, I continued to place hope in Mr. Deng Xiaoping's statement 'seeking truth from facts' and his policy of liberalisation. Therefore, I sent several delegations to Tibet and China and wherever there was an opportunity we explained our views to promote understanding through discussion and dialogue. As initially suggested by Mr. Deng Xiaoping I agreed to send Tibetan teachers from India to improve the education of Tibetans in Tibet. But for one reason or the other the Chinese government did not accept this.

These contacts resulted in four fact-finding delegations to Tibet, two delegations to Beijing, and the start of family visitations between the Tibetans in Tibet and in exile. However, these steps did not lead to any substantial progress in resolving the problems between us owing to the rigidity of the Chinese leaders' positions which, I believe, failed to reflect Mr. Deng's Xiaoping's policies.

7. Once again, I did not give up hope. This was reflected in my annual March 10th Statements to the Tibetan people in 1981, 1983, 1984 and 1985, wherein I said the following:

... past history has disappeared in the past. What is more relevant is that in the future there actually must be real peace and happiness through developing friendly and meaningful relations between China and Tibet. For this to be realised, it is important for both sides to work hard to have tolerant understanding and be open-minded. (1981)

The right to express one's ideas and to make every effort to implement them enables people everywhere to become creative and progressive. This engenders human society to make rapid progress and experience genuine harmony. ...The deprivation of freedom to express one's views, either by force or by other means, is absolutely anachronistic and a brutal form of oppression. ...The people of the world will not only oppose it, but will condemn it. Hence, the six million Tibetan people must have the right to preserve, and enhance their cultural destiny and manage their own affairs, and find fulfillment of their free self-expression, without interference from any quarters. This is reasonable and just. (1983)

Irrespective of varying degrees of development and economic disparities, continents, nations, communities, families, in fact, all individuals are dependent on one another for their existence and well being. Every human being wishes for happiness and does not want suffering. By clearly realising this, we must develop mutual compassion, love, and a fundamental sense of justice. In such an atmosphere there is hope that problems between nations and problems within families can be gradually overcome and that people can live in peace and harmony. Instead, if people adopt an attitude of selfishness, domination and jealousy, the world at large, as well as individuals, will never enjoy peace and

harmony. Therefore, I believe that human relations based on mutual compassion and love is fundamentally important to human happiness. (1984)

... in order to achieve genuine happiness in any human society, freedom of thought is extremely important. This freedom of thought can only be achieved from mutual trust, mutual understanding and the absence of fear... In the case of Tibet and China too, unless we can remove the state of mutual fear and mistrust, unless we can develop a genuine sense of friendship and goodwill the problems that we face today will continue to exist.

It is important for both of us to learn about one another... It is now for the Chinese to act according to the enlightened ideals and principles of the modern times; to come forward with an open mind and make a serious attempt to know and understand the Tibetan people's viewpoint and their true feelings and aspirations... It is wrong to react with suspicion or offence to the opinions that are contrary to one's own way of thinking. It is essential that difference of opinion be examined and discussed openly. When differing viewpoints are frankly stated and sensibly discussed on an equal footing, the decisions or agreements reached as a result will be genuine and beneficial to all concerned. But so long as there is a contradiction between thought and action, there can never be genuine and meaningful agreements.

So, at this time, I feel the most important thing for us to keep in close contact, to express our views frankly and to make sincere efforts to understand each other. And, through eventual improvement in human relationship, I am confident that our problems can be solved to our mutual satisfaction. (1985)

In these and other ways I expressed my views clearly. But, there was no reciprocity to my conciliatory approaches.

8. Since all the exchanges between Tibetans and Chinese yielded no results, I felt compelled to make public my views on the steps necessary for an agreeable solution to the fundamental issues. On September 21, 1987, I announced a Five-Point Peace Plan in the United States of America. In its introduction, I said that in the hope of real reconciliation and lasting solutions to the problem, it was my desire to take the first step with this initiative. This plan, I hoped, would in the future contribute to the friendship and cooperation among all the neighbouring countries including the Chinese people for their good and benefit. The basic elements were:

- i. Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of ahimsa (peace and non-violence);
- ii. Abandonment of China's population transfer policy which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people;
- iii. Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms.
- iv. Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment and the abandonment of China's use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste.
- v. Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and relations between the Tibetans and the Chinese people.

As a response to this initiative, Mr. Yang Mingfu, met Mr. Gyalto Thondup on October 17, 1987 and delivered a message containing five points criticising me for my above peace initiative and accusing me of having instigated the demonstration in Lhasa of September 27, 1987 and of having worked against the interest of Tibetan people.

The response, far from giving a serious thought to my sincere proposal for reconciliation, was disappointing and demeaning.

Despite this, I tried again to clarify our views in a detailed 14-point response on December 1987.

9. On June 15, 1988, at the European Parliament in Strasbourg, I once again elaborated on the Five-Point Peace Plan. I proposed as a framework for negotiations to secure the basic rights of the Tibetan people, China could remain responsible for Tibet's foreign policy and maintain a restricted number of military installations in Tibet for defence until a regional peace conference is convened and Tibet is transformed into a neutral peace sanctuary. I was criticised by many Tibetans for this proposal. My idea was, to make it possible for China and Tibet to stay together in lasting friendship and to secure the right for Tibetans to govern their own country. I sincerely believe that in the future a demilitarised Tibet as a zone of ahimsa will contribute to harmony and peace not only between Tibetans and Chinese, but to all the neighbouring countries and the entire region.

10. On September 23, 1988, the Chinese government issued a statement that China was willing to begin negotiations with us. The announcement stated that the date and venue for the negotiations would be left to the Dalai Lama. We welcomed this announcement from Beijing and responded on October 25, 1988, proposing January 1989 as the time and Geneva, an internationally recognized neutral venue, as our choices. We announced that we had a negotiating team ready and named the members of the team.

The Chinese government responded on November 18, 1988, rejecting Geneva and expressing preference for Beijing or else Hong Kong, as the venue. They further stated that my negotiating team could not include 'a foreigner' and consist only of 'younger people,' and that it should have older people, including Mr. Gyalto Thondup. We explained that the foreigner was only a legal advisor and not an actual member of the negotiating team and that Mr. Gyalto Thondup would also be included as an advisor to the team.

With a feasible and open attitude we accommodated the Chinese government's requests and agreed to send representatives to Hong Kong to hold preliminary meetings with representatives of the Chinese government. Unfortunately, when both sides had finally agreed on Hong Kong as the site for preliminary discussions the Chinese government refused to communicate any further and failed to live up to their own suggestion.

11. Although I championed this proposal for over two years there was no evidence of consideration or even an acknowledgement from the Chinese government.

Therefore, in my March 10th statement in 1991, I was compelled to state that unless the Chinese government responded in the near future I would consider myself free from any obligation to abide by the proposal I made in France.

Since there appeared to be no benefit from the many solutions I had advocated concerning Tibet and China, I had to find a new way. Therefore, in a speech at Yale University on October 9, 1991, I said:

...I am considering the possibility of a visit to Tibet as early as possible. I have in mind two purposes for such a visit.

First, I want to ascertain the situation in Tibet myself on the spot and communicate directly with my people. By doing so I also hope to help the Chinese leadership to understand the true feelings of Tibetans. It would be important, therefore, for senior Chinese leaders to accompany me on such a visit, and that outside observers, including the press be present to see and report their findings. Second, I wish to advise and persuade my people not to abandon



non-violence as the appropriate form of struggle. My ability to talk to my own people can be a key factor in bringing about a peaceful solution. My visit could be a new opportunity to promote understanding and create a basis for a negotiated solution.

Unfortunately this overture was immediately opposed by the Chinese government. At that time, I was asked on many occasions by the press whether I was renewing the call for Tibetan independence since I had declared that the Strasbourg proposal was no longer valid. To these questions, I stated that I did not want to comment.

12. The Chinese government has, with great doubt and suspicion, described our struggle as a movement to restore the 'old society' and that it was not in the interest of the Tibetan people but for the personal status and interest of the Dalai Lama. Since my youth, I was aware of the many faults of the existing system in Tibet and wanted to improve it. At that time I started the process of reform in Tibet. Soon after our flight to India we introduced democracy in our exile community, step by step. I repeatedly urged my people to follow this path. As a result, our exiled community now implements a system in full accordance with universal democratic principles. It is impossible for Tibet to ever revert to the old system of government. Whether my efforts for the Tibetan cause are as charged by the Chinese for my personal position and benefit or not is clear from my repeated statements that in a future Tibet, I will not assume any governmental responsibility or hold any political position. Furthermore, this is reflected clearly in the Charter which governs the Tibetan Administration in Exile and in the 'Guidelines for Future Tibet's Polity and the Basic Features of Its Constitution,' which I announced on February 26, 1992.

In the conclusion of these guidelines, I suggested that

Tibet shall not be influenced or swayed by the policies and ideologies of other countries but remain a neutral state in the true sense of the term. It shall maintain a harmonious relationship with its neighbours on equal terms and for mutual benefits. It shall maintain a cordial and fraternal relationship with all nations, without any sense of hostility and enmity.

Similarly, in my statement of March 10th, 1992, I stated,

When a genuinely cordial relationship is established between the Tibetans and the Chinese, it will enable us not only to resolve the disputes between our two nations in this century, but also enable the Tibetans to make a significant contribution through our rich cultural traditions for mental peace among the millions of young Chinese.

My endeavours to establish a personal relationship with Chinese leaders include my offer, presented through your Embassy in New Delhi in the latter part of 1980, for a meeting with General Secretary Hu Yaobang during one of his visits abroad at any convenient place. Again in December 1991, when Premier Li Peng visited New Delhi, I proposed to meet him there. These overtures were to no avail.

13. An impartial review of the above points will clearly show that my ideas and successive efforts have consistently sought solutions that will allow Tibet and China to live together in peace. In the light of these facts it is difficult to understand the purpose of the Chinese government's position that Mr. Deng Xiaoping's statement on Tibet of 1979 still stands and that as soon as 'the Dalai Lama' gives up his splittist activities, negotiations could start. This position has been repeated over and over again with no specific response to my many initiatives.

If China wants Tibet to stay in China, then China must create the necessary conditions for this. The time has come now for the Chinese to show the way for Tibet and China to live together in friendship. A detailed step by step outline regarding Tibet's basic status should be spelt out. If such a clear outline is given, regardless of the possibility of an agreement or not, we Tibetans can then make a decision whether to live with China or not. If we Tibetans obtain our basic rights to our satisfaction then we are not incapable of seeing the possible advantages of living with the Chinese.

I trust in the far sightedness and wisdom of China's leaders and hope that they will take into consideration the current global political changes and the need to resolve the Tibetan problem peacefully, promoting genuine lasting friendship between our two neighbouring peoples.

[The Dalai Lama, India]

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